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on the cover:

'Hawaii, The Surf Rider', woodblock print
by Charles W. Bartlett, 1921.

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From the Executive Director

Ute Wartenberg Kagan

Dear Friends and Members

For our last issue of the year, we have a wonderful set of articles, which illustrate the wide field that the American Numismatic Society covers as an institution. As readers of the *ANS Magazine* will have noticed, our Editor, Peter van Alfen, has been trying to present articles on certain themes in every issue, which in this issue explores colonialism and coinage in the Pacific. On this theme, one of the features represents the debut of our new Assistant Curator Matthew Wittmann, who is currently on sabbatical in Australia and was inspired by his antipodean stay to write an article about Hawaii and its interesting numismatic history. David Alexander again displays his extraordinary knowledge of world history and numismatics in a piece on Sarawak, a part of the island of Borneo, which for a century was ruled by a British family. Looking beyond the Pacific, David Hill, who has just been appointed as our Francis D. Campbell Librarian, has again made some discoveries in our archives, this time relating to an enigmatic set of drawings by the French sculptor Louis-Oscar Roty. David reveals the background of these drawings and their relationship to objects in the collection, but also gives a great introduction to Roty and his relationship to the then young American Numismatic Society.

The fourth feature in this issue is the Silvia Hurter Memorial Lecture, which our Huntington Medalist John W. Adams delivered to an audience of over 80 people on April 26th at the Massachusetts Historical Society. It was an extraordinary afternoon, during which his family, friends as well as ANS members heard from him how he became a collector and scholar. John is one of these rare human beings, who combines academic prowess, a brilliant business sense, an acute collector's eye and instinct, and overwhelming generosity to help others. I am very pleased to report that the Board of Trustees has elected John Adams as an Honorary Trustee, a position he currently shares with Eric P. Newman and our former Presidents Arthur A. Houghton III and Donald G. Partrick. He thus joins the ranks of our truly great friends and benefactors. I am so grateful to John for providing us with a copy of extraordinary talk to share with those who were not able to attend the event.



John and Regina Adams.

I am also very pleased that all nominations of Trustees and Fellows as listed in the last *ANS Magazine* were duly elected at our Annual Meeting in October. I am particularly pleased to introduce to our members our new Trustee Mr. John Nebel. Our new Fellows are Mr. John Dannreuther, Mr. Allan H. Davisson, Mr. David Feinstein, Mr. Ross Larson Jr., Mr. John Nebel, Mr. Lawrence Sekulich, and Mr. William Sudbrink. We are all very proud to have such wonderful supporters on our side. At this point, I would also like to thank Clifford Mishler, who stepped down as a Trustee after having served the institution's board since 1997. His advice and guidance will be missed by many of us.

On behalf of the entire staff, I would like to extend my warmest wishes for the Holiday Season to all our members and their families.

Yours truly,

Ute Wartenberg



COINS OF THE WHITE RAJAHS OF SARAWAK

David Thomason Alexander

In the panorama of the British Empire, few territories present as rich and varied a history as Sarawak, located on the northwestern coast of Borneo, third largest island in the world (fig. 1). Sarawak, pronounced Sa-RA-wa, was for a century a hereditary monarchy ruled by the English family of Brooke, British subjects originating in Devon, who were at the same time sovereign rulers of their own country. The story of the Brookes and their tropical realm can only be called colorful, punctuated as it was by warfare on land and sea against piracy and head hunting, mitigation of slavery as Sarawak expanded its territory, all flavored by the family's own remarkable eccentricities. Known as "the White Rajahs of Sarawak," three generations of Brookes ruled from September 1841 until July 1946, interrupted by four destructive years of Japanese occupation in World War II. Brooke rule ended on July 1, 1946 when the last Rajah, Sir Charles Vyner Brooke (1874–1963) formally ceded his state to the British Crown. Today, Sarawak is a constituent state of the Federation of Malaysia, having survived years of the heavily armed "Konfrontasi" or confrontation with neighboring Indonesia that had been proclaimed by that nation's President Sukarno. The White Rajahs are generally recalled with affection by their one-time subjects and left a legacy of coinage, decorations and stamps which are now ardently sought by collectors.

In 1841, the northern Borneo coast was under the nominal rule of the Sultans of Brunei, descended from the rulers of Johore in Malaya. Their glory days came in the reign of conqueror Sultan Hasan in the 1600s. Brunei had been visited by ships of Ferdinand Magellan's exploring voyage when the sultanate controlled all Borneo, with influence extending from Sulu to Java.

Brunei city was described by Antonio Pigafetta as built on stilts over Brunei Bay and housing some 25,000 families, comprising about 100,000 inhabitants under the rule of Sultan Bolkiah who was married to a princess of Java. (Names persist: Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah reigns in 2014). Brunei rapidly declined in power and influence. Disputes over the succession culminated in the 1828 execution of cruel Sultan Muhammad 'Alam, called Api, in a revolt that left the throne to the feeble Sultan 'Omar 'Ali Saifuddin II (1828–1852)(fig. 2). No mental giant, this ruler bore six fingers on his right hand and this deformity barred him from full authority and honor as *Yang di Pertuan*. Sections of the sultanate were ruled by family members and Malay lords claiming the rank of *Sherip* (from the Arabic *Sharif*) as descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. During the 1840s, most were predators exploiting the tribal peoples of the coast.

Intermittent English exploration and merchant settlements brought little profit, even from longer occupation during the Napoleonic wars. Most of Borneo passed to the Dutch East India Company, mainly interested in the richer islands to the east and south that became the Dutch East Indies (*Nederlandsche Indie*). Dutch policies of imperialistic monopoly and exploitation steered many native peoples toward sea-going piracy. Borneo was a mountainous, jungle-covered and inhospitable island. Nearly all communication was by sea or fast-running streams pouring down from the central mountains as far as these were navigable. Little was known of the interior in the 1840s, but generations of Europeans including British visionary Sir Stamford Raffles convinced themselves that vast riches were to be found if the effort was made. Raffles told the English

East India Company Governor-General Lord Minto that Britain should seize the entire Dutch empire in the east. Borneo, he confidently asserted, was rich in gold, diamonds, pepper, rattan, skins, rare woods and birds' nests. The latter was a distinctive tropical commodity produced by cave-nesting swifts, held together with the birds' saliva. Prized by Chinese cooks, the nests were boiled to produce birds' nest soup.

The peoples of northwestern Borneo in the 1840s included the Sea Dyaks or Ibans (fig. 3), feared as head hunters and sea-going pirates sailing in open praus (fig. 4). Head hunting was an important part of their culture. A young man seeking a bride was expected to present her with a head. The Kayans were also noted pirates and head-hunters. Gentle victims of these tribes were the Land Dyaks, often subjected to extortionate "trade" by the Malay nobles including forced purchase of worthless iron bars at prices set by the nobles and even coerced sale of their praus and children as slaves to the same buyers. The self-reliant Muruts lived on the Limbang river near Brunei town. Filtering into Borneo were bands of Chinese settlers leaving southern China for Nan Yang, or South Sea as the Southeast Asian lands were called by emigrants from the Great Ch'ing Empire. Several such bands were already at work in Sarawak by 1840, notably in gold and antimony production.

In 1838, Sultan 'Omar 'Ali Saifuddin II sent his maternal uncle and regent Rajah Muda Hasim (fig. 5) to Sarawak when a revolt broke out against governor or *Pangiran* Makota. During this year, a British ship was wrecked off Sarawak, and Hasim rescued and feted the British sailors, sending them on to Singapore at his expense to attract favorable notice from Britain. Enter the young James Brooke (p. 6, and fig. 6), born 29 April 1803 at Secrore, Benares, then under the rule of the East India Company (EIC). His father Thomas pursued a career with "John Company" and rose to judge of High Court; his mother Anna Maria Stuart was born in Scotland, and went to India with her brother James. Here she met Thomas Brooke, then a widower, married him and bore six children. Her daughter Emma married Rev. Charles Johnson of White Lackington, Somerset, and this family name was closely linked to later generations of Brookes. The Brookes claimed descent from the noble West Country family of Broke, whose estates had long since been inherited by House of Warwick. One prominent ancestor was Sir Thomas Vyner, Lord Mayor of London in 1654, who entertained Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell at the Guildhall.

English families domiciled in the great East firmly believed that children must be returned to England to as-

sure healthy development and proper education. James Brooke was therefore sent home at age 12, and lived unhappily with an austere grandmother at Reigate, alternating with a more cheerful family friend, Charles Kegan of Bath. The boy had no head for accounting or business and was an indifferent student of any subject that did not interest him. He was wretchedly unhappy at Norwich Grammar School and ran away, only to be returned to endure more misery. Decades later the school was happy to recall their association, miserable as this interaction had actually been. Free of school, James was commissioned in the EIC's Bengal Army on May 11, 1819. He was training Indian cavalry when the First Burmese War broke out (fig. 7). He led a cavalry charge at Rungpore, Assam, on Jan 27, 1825; two days later he was shot in the lung and left for dead. He was sent back to England for recovery and awarded an annual pension of £70 for life. This incident launched one of the many romantic legends about James Brooke. Although his mother kept the extracted bullet in a bell jar on her mantle piece, the story was circulated that the bullet had actually penetrated his genitals, and explained why he never married. It seems unlikely that a proper Victorian mother would have publicly exhibited a bullet from such a wound. James resigned the EIC service, having lost all respect for the Company, which he charged had betrayed his hero Raffles. He returned to England, hoping to become an eastern trader. He bought the merchantman *Findlay*, but the first voyage proved a fiasco.

After his father died in December 1835, James bought a 142-ton schooner, the *Royalist*. Afire to extend British rule, James published an enthusiastic prospectus or broadside in the Athenaeum advocating Borneo acquisitions in the spirit of Raffles. The booklet contained startling inaccuracies that demonstrated European ignorance of Borneo's interior. Included was a reference to the "great Lake Kinee Balloo," Malay for "the Chinese Widow" that actually referred to Borneo's tallest mountain peak. He sailed on Aug 1, 1838 from Singapore to Kuching, seat of Sarawak governor Rajah Muda Hasim (fig. 8). James met Makota the supposed rebel, and began his familiarization with the interior by visiting a Sea Dyak longhouse that was 594 feet in length, housing numerous families and decorated with 30 hanging heads. He made visits upcountry, experiencing much day-to-day treachery and intrigue with Hasim and Makota and finally brought guns to bear to free the British ship *Sultana* and her crew. He rescued Hasim from rebellious subjects and kin who sought aid from the Dutch. Hasim appointed James Brooke Rajah and Governor of Sarawak on Nov. 24, 1841. James pledged a small annual payment to the Sultan and undertook to respect the country's laws and religion.

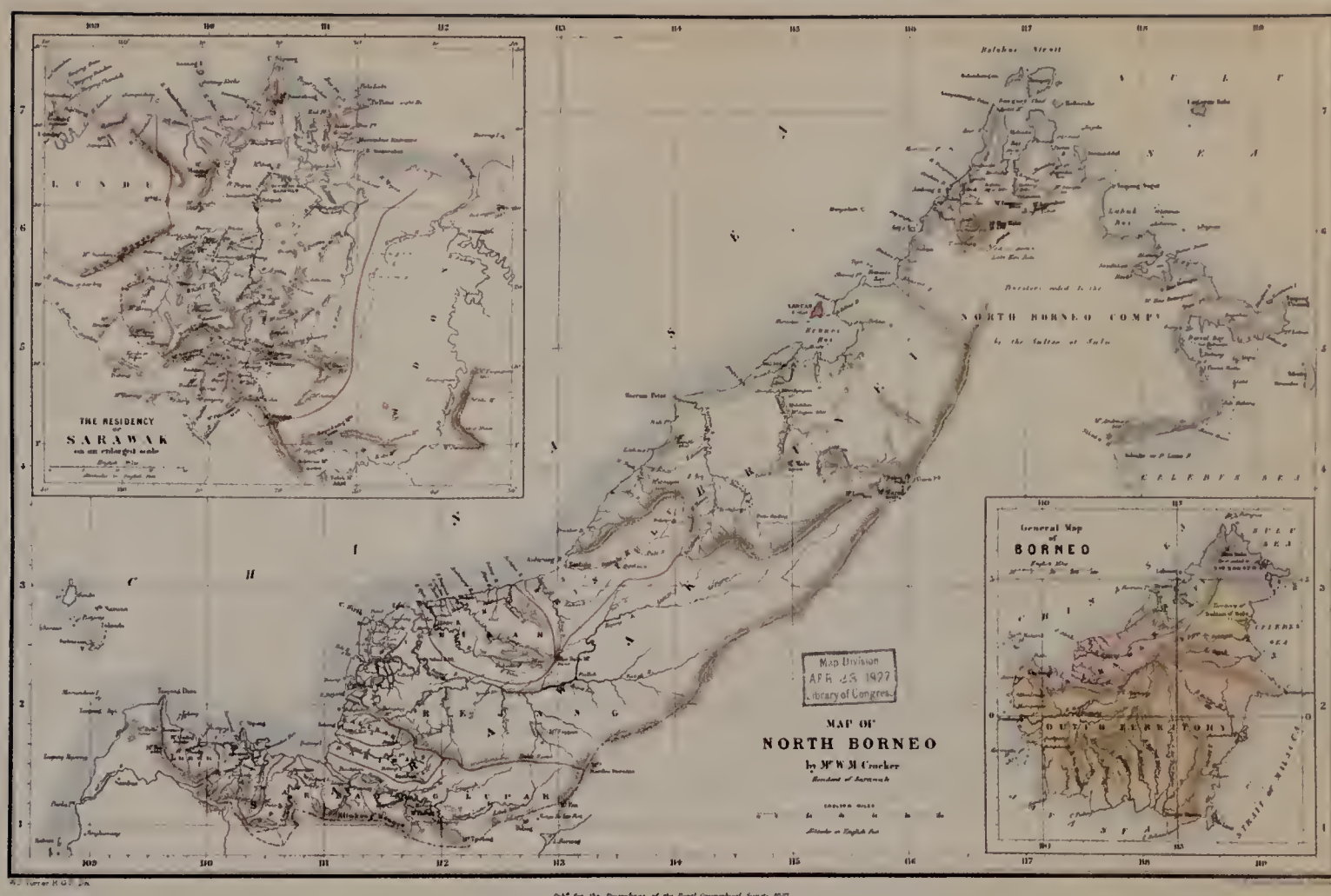


Fig. 1: Map of Northern Borneo showing Sarawak and Brunei (W. and A.K. Johnston, Edinburgh, 1881).

Dutch agent Bloem and Singapore Governor Bonham were unhappy but the deed was done. The first laws of the new regime were signed "James Brooke esquire, governor (rajah) of the country of Sarawak." He promised free trade, honest commerce for the Dyaks (now free to sell to whom they pleased), taxes stated on a yearly basis, abolition of forced labor, introduction of standard weights and measures and introduction of low value coinage. On August 1, 1842, the sultan formally recognized him as rajah. James consolidated his rule, building a dedicated staff for the Sarawak service, encouraging Chinese immigration, launching campaigns to stamp out piracy and head-hunting with Malay and Dyak crews and help from the Royal Navy. The new rulers adopted Malay titles. Nephew Brooke Johnson changed his name by deed poll to Brooke and became Tuan Besar or heir apparent. His younger nephew Charles Anthoni (an in-family spelling generally rendered Anthony) Brooke arrived in Sarawak in 1844 and became Tuan Muda. Younger brothers might be referred to as Tuan Bongsu. Upsets were continuous, including 1846 treachery in Brunei, where pro-Brooke princes were killed, and Rajah Hasim committed sui-

cide after attack by Hashim Jelal and adventurer Haji Seman. In December Rajah James brought about British annexation of the island of Labuan, believed to possess rich coal deposits (fig. 9).

His reign approached a high point in 1847. James was acclaimed a public hero in October, defended against Dutch opposition by Lord Aberdeen and the Foreign Office. He received the Freedom of the City of London and of the Goldsmiths' and Fishmongers' Companies, and an honorary Doctorate of Laws from Oxford. He was then appointed governor of Labuan and Consul-General for All Borneo, while Queen Victoria rewarded his efforts by making him Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath. Though something of a freethinker, he approved the sending of a Church of England mission under Rev. Francis McDougall. Serious trouble immediately followed. One-time friend Henry Wiseman demanded creation of company to exploit Sarawak's natural wealth. The Rajah and his heirs through 1946 were adamantly opposed to such policy, determined to protect the native peoples against colonial exploitation. Wiseman then began



Fig. 2: Sultan 'Omar 'Ali Saifuddin II.



Fig. 3: Dayak headhunter, Borneo (Hose and McDougall 1912).



Fig. 4: Dayak war prau (Marryat, 1848, p.64).



Fig. 5: Portrait of Pangeran Raja Muda Hashim (Keppel 1846, p.54).

stirring up opposition among British liberals. Among James' key supporters was the wealthy heiress Angela Georgina Burdette Coutts (fig. 10), a legendary figure of the Victorian age. Fabulously rich and unmarried until her advanced years, she placed friendship with the Rajah on a plane with her other favorites including Disraeli, Gladstone and Dickens.

James set up Labuan's colonial government, finding it a poor, fever-ridden island possessing only low-grade coal deposits. The Rajah now found that his moments of triumph and recognition coincided with hostile attacks in England, native troubles and uprisings in Sarawak itself. Lord Aberdeen's government found itself dependent on Liberal support, and initiated a hostile inquiry into Sarawak affairs chaired by Advocate General of India Charles Henry Prinsep, an eccentric civil servant who was certified insane after the proceedings. The Rajah was exonerated of charges of excessive brutality in piracy suppression. During 1853 his nephew Charles was declared Tuan Muda, having proven himself an energetic administrator skilled in bush warfare. The Rajah was now aging and was smitten with smallpox. Brunei Sultan Omar 'Ali Saifuddin died and was succeeded by the more effective Sultan 'Abd ul-Mumin, (reigned 1852–1885). A new Borneo Company was created to handle government monopolies including coal and antimony, sago, gutta-percha and birds' nests that were now a significant export. Disaster struck in February 1858 with a full-scale Chinese uprising and attack on Kuching. The Rajah had long been pro-Chinese, but the Opium War had soured relations and Triad secret societies conspired and armed, notably the well-organized *Bau kongsi*. Armed attack on Kuching brought initial losses, burning, looting, and flight of Europeans. Seriously ill with fever, the Rajah was nearly helpless, but his throne and state were saved largely by the Tuan Muda and his fighting Dyaks.

Brooke control was re-asserted but now serious family trouble came to a head, eerily recalling the generational splits of Britain's early Hanoverian monarchs. James's eldest nephew, the Tuan Besar Brooke Johnson Brooke began an ill-advised quarrel with his uncle that scandalized both Malay and tribal subjects. The Tuan Besar expected his uncle to abdicate in his favor but feared that the James would still try to control events. James was in failing health, suffering a mild stroke and brief paralysis. His financial losses from the Chinese rebellion were severe, but he was assisted by a £5,000 loan from Lady Burdett-Coutts, who poisoned his mind against Tuan Besar. In Oct. 1860 she gave James the steamship *Rainbow*. James was now planning his retirement. He loved the West Country and bought a property called Burrator on Dartmoor. The

Tuan Besar was suffering uncertainty and paranoia as the old Rajah returned in February with another brother, Henry Stuart Johnson, now entitled Tuan Bongsu. In August 1861 Brooke Brooke was officially installed as Rajah Muda or heir apparent (fig. 11).

All seemed tranquil but the heir's mind was failing, partly from shock induced by the death of his wife in childbirth. The Rajah explored offering a protectorate to French Emperor Napoleon III or to Leopold of Belgium. An offer of a British protectorate sank when James gruffly demanded recompense from Britain for all he had spent on Sarawak. The Rajah Muda lost control of himself and wrote to James declaring himself Rajah, an act of total defiance. His brothers declared their loyalty to Rajah James. James totally disinherited his fractious nephew and his will now left the Raj to Lady Burdette Coutts, loyal friend and chief creditor of Sarawak. With vivid imagination, the heiress now suggested making Sarawak a protectorate of Greece, whose second King, George I, had just taken the throne. The Rajah suggested dryly that Sarawak could as easily protect Greece as that kingdom could protect Sarawak! A quarrel with his appointed heiress soon assured that the succession was once more assured to Charles Anthony Brooke (fig. 12).

James left Sarawak Sept. 24, 1863, the 22nd anniversary of the reign. On his journey home he got word of British recognition of Sarawak as a sovereign state, and his first postage stamps now appeared (fig. 13). Following major strokes in June 1868 the founding Rajah died and was entombed at Sheepstor, Devon, where his successors would eventually rest (fig. 14). His nephew succeeded as Charles Brooke Rajah.

In the hurried, "first things first" decades, coinage had been neglected. Spanish colonial silver reales were in widespread circulation when James arrived off Borneo in the late 1830s, and a variety of brass keping struck by Singapore merchants circulated widely with fluctuating values throughout Malaya and adjoining East Indies then under Dutch colonial rule (figs. 15–16).

A rare copper or brass one keping appeared in 1842, bearing the founding Rajah's initials JB and a heraldic brock or badger punning on the family name, placed above the Rajah's accession date of *September 24, 1841* (fig. 17). The reverse is inscribed in Malay-Arabic script, *1/ satu keping/ 1247*. This Hijra date is puzzling, as it corresponds to 1831 in the Western calendar. According to the late pioneer researcher Major Fred Pridmore (1952), this keping was struck "at a private mint in Birmingham." The coin was released in 1842, and its reverse was struck with a worn stock die used for such coins as the Malacca keping, (Krause-Mishler

8.1). This diminutive Brooke piece (KM Tn1) is very rare today. Pridmore condemned gilt or silvered “Proof” examples as modern fabrications made with high-grade genuine pieces. All later coins bore the heads of the successive Rajahs. The unit was the Sarawak dollar of 100 cents, on par with the Straits Settlements dollar then valued at 4 shillings sixpence (figs. 18–19). Straits coins long remained in circulation in Sarawak. Sir James Brooke was portrayed on the first copper coins dated 1863, declared legal tender up to \$1. These were the 29mm one cent; 22.5mm half cent and 18mm quarter cent (figs. 20–22). Dies were made by Joseph Moore of Birmingham. The obverse bore a craggy-featured head left with legend *J. BROOKE – RAJAH*. The reverse presented *SARAWAK* over a laurel wreath with date 1863 below, denomination *ONE/ CENT* at center. The two smaller denominations bore similar designs. The coins were struck by Ralph Heaton & Sons, later known as The Mint Birmingham Ltd. Sarawak coinage would eventually be struck in copper, silver, bronze, and copper-nickel over the next 75 years. The earliest (1870–1879) copper coins of Rajah Charles Brooke (1868–1917) are also attributed to Moore, but all later coins would be struck by Heaton’s and bear its “H” mint mark.

Rajah Charles took his accession oath on Oct. 11, 1868, and reigned for 49 years. He had already worked up-country since the age of 23 and was a somewhat gauche, austere, and solitary man little liked by the old Rajah’s generation. An independent thinker without social polish, he had no objections to intermarriage with native peoples and demanded that members of the Sarawak service remain unmarried for their first 10 years of employment. He had no objection to discreet liaisons with native women if no undue favor was shown to children from such unions. He was feared for his ferocious temper, opposing any appearance of luxury such as armchairs for his staff. He read French literature and sang Victorian ballads at social gatherings in the Astana, the Rajah’s “palace” in Kuching. He had created the Council Negri April 1865, consisting of chieftains, European and Malay officials, plus European Residents of three Divisions. Local chiefs were government appointees entitled *Pengulus*, almost always accepted heads of their peoples. Seeking a bride, the new Rajah sent a gift of Sarawak diamonds to a first cousin, now the wealthy widow Lily Willes Johnson, whose grandmother was Baroness de Windt. Lily’s daughter Margaret was 20 years younger than Charles, an accomplished girl pianist and artist of vivacity. They were married on Oct. 28, 1869, and their union was often stressful. On their honeymoon, the cost-conscious groom feasted on roast pheasant while his bride had to make do with bread and butter. Taking control of her money, the

Rajah badgered her unceasingly about spending. The Ranee Margaret proved a great success with European residents with her tea and garden parties, visiting the tribes and conciliating native women. She wrote about Sarawak for a European audience in books published in 1913 and 1934. She bore a daughter in 1870, two sons 1872, but all three died suddenly in the Red Sea aboard a Peninsular and Oriental steamer. The Rajah boycotted P & O vessels thereafter, and erected an Anglesey marble monument to the children near the Astana in 1874. (This cross made headlines recently when it was found cracked and discarded, supposedly at the order of the Malaysian governor.)

Margaret bore a son, Charles Vyner on Sept. 30 1874, who was at once proclaimed Rajah Muda; followed by Bertram in August 1876 who became Tuan Muda, and Harry (born 1879), Tuan Bongsu. The succession was now assured, the back country was largely pacified and both head hunting and slavery were being eliminated in a successful first decade.

Rajah Charles continued Sarawak’s territorial expansion up the coast, adding tracts great and small until 1905, until the Raj extended from Cape Datu in the south to the Lawas River in the north. The Brookes desired to annex all that remained of Brunei, but Singapore Governor Sir Frederick Weld (fig. 25) worked to preserve Brunei as if it were a mainland Malay State. Brunei survived as two separated enclaves, the larger around Brunei town including the Muara Peninsula, the smaller straddling the Temburong River. Vast oil reserves were later found beneath these tracts, making Brunei rich beyond the dreams of avarice while neither Sarawak nor North Borneo (now called Sabah) could boast any such oil wealth. When the Federation of Malaysia was formed in 1963, Brunei held itself confidently aloof.

Rajah James had hoped for a British protectorate that would assure Sarawak’s safety and her internal government under his dynasty. This wish was fulfilled on June 14, 1888. Rajah Charles became Knight Grand Cross of St. Michael and St. George, and Sarawak was recognized as an independent protected state. Disputes over the succession were to be referred to His Majesty’s Government, foreign relations would be handled through the Foreign Office. British consular officers would be appointed, while an amendment allowed frontier administrative questions to be settled locally. Brunei and North Borneo given Protection in September 1888, and the governor of Singapore became High Commissioner of the Borneo Protectorate.

Chinese immigration had resumed after 1863 onward, each settlement headed by a Hheadman or *Kang Chew*.

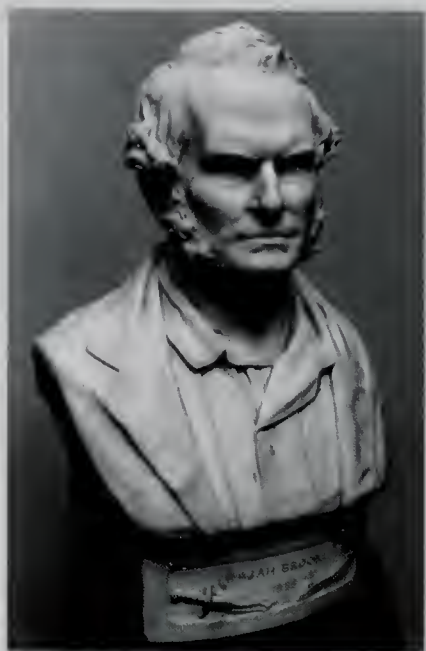


Fig. 6: Marble bust of Sir James Brooke, 1858, by Thomas Woolner (National Portrait Gallery, 1426).



Fig. 7: The Storming of the Lesser Stockade at Keimmendine near Rangoon on the 10th of June 1824 (J. Moore, 1830).



Fig. 8: Sir James Brooke and Raja Muda Hashim negotiating (London Illustrated News 1846).

Fig. 9: Ceremony of Hoisting the British Flag on the Island of Labuan, North West Coast of Borneo, by Captain Munday, HMS Iris, 24 December 1846 (Augustus St. John 1847).



Christian Chinese arrived in 1901, fleeing the Boxers. Sarawak was now “in the black” with the public debt wiped out in 1905, leaving only an obligation for \$190,796 representing backing for paper currency in circulation. As early as 1884, French visitor Edmond Cotteau (1884) could write, “thirty Englishmen, no more, govern and administer the country, and that with only a few hundred native soldiers and policemen, and almost without written laws. A handful of men of a strange race is blindly obeyed by 300,000 Asiatics; to what must we attribute this great result if not to the justice and the extreme simplicity of the Government?” Charles had his admirers in England as well, though his taciturn and forbidding manner repelled many people. He offered highly independent opinions to journalists, foreseeing the end of the empire in the future. He opposed the jingoism that flared up in the Second Anglo-Boer War and contrasted the “Memsahib” racial attitudes seen in many British possessions with the ease of the traditional Brooke interaction with their subjects.

With its economy growing, Sarawak found itself in need of a more plentiful coinage (figs. 26–28). Cent coinage had begun in 1870, bearing Charles’ portrait on 29mm, 144 grain copper dated 1870, 1879, 1880, 1882, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889 struck without mint marks; the “H” mint mark appeared on cents dated 1890 and 1891. Proofs exist of nine dates only. There was less demand for smaller denominations. Half cents were only struck in 1870, 1879, 1896 and 1896-H; quarter cents in 1870, 1896 and 1896-H. Several dates exist in both Proof and Uncirculated. When sufficient Sarawak coins were on hand, Straits coppers were withdrawn. New cents of innovative design were released that would not be acceptable in Singapore (fig. 29), portrait coins with center holes retaining the 29mm planchet and 144 grains weight and bearing the “H” mint mark, dated 1892, 1893, 1894, 1896, and 1897. These presented a small head and *C. BROOKE RAJAH* above the hole; below were crossed flags, intended for the Sarawak flag with its gold field and red/black St. George’s cross and eastern crown. The flag was based on the Brooke family arms, which bore a badger (brock) crest and motto *DUM SPIRO SPERO* (*While I Breathe, I Hope*). The reverse presented a modified wreath and value design.

Rajah Charles then decided that a silver coinage was needed, whose denominations, diameters and .800 fineness would be those of contemporary Straits coins. Four denominations bore the Rajah’s head by Joseph Moore, facing left as on the first cents with legend *C. BROOKE RAJAH · SARAWAK* (figs. 30–33). The reverses typified the simple geometric designs used

on several colonial series, such as the dotted circle for Straits and Cyprus, geometrics of British Honduras and Newfoundland. The reeded-edge silver coins bore a large numerical denomination in a rope circle, “H” below the complex knot, surrounded by denomination in words and date. All silver bore the “H” mint mark. First struck in 1900 were the 31mm, 13.57 gram 50 cents; 23.3mm, 5.43 gram 20 cents; 17.9mm, 2.71 gram 10 cents and 15.5mm, 1.35 gram five cents. Their circulation was authorized by Government Notice No. XXX of Aug. 1, 1900 setting a legal tender limit of \$1, raised to \$2 on Sept. 19, 1901. The 50 cents was struck in 1900, with a far scarcer 1906 following that is also known in Proof. The 20 cents is known with dates 1900, 1906, 1910, 1911, 1913, and 1915. The 10 cents is known dated 1900, 1906, 1910, 1911, 1913 and 1915. Diminutive 5 Cents bear the dates 1900, 1908, 1911, 1913 and 1915.

An age was now ending. Rajah Muda Vyner had entered the Sarawak service in 1897 at the age of 23, gaining experience in administration in the upcountry, taking charge of the country during his aged father’s trips to Europe. In September 1916, Charles handed over administration to Vyner and returned to England, dying May 17, 1917 just before his 88th birthday, ending a reign of 49 years. Rajah Charles’s relations with his oldest son were stressful, and he always showed preference for his second surviving son Bertram, the Tuan Muda. In his will the Rajah urged the brothers to closest cooperation, insisting that the Tuan Muda be shown equal respect and take part in all decisions. The “Hanoverian” generation divide cropped up once again.

Further complications had followed Vyner’s marriage to the Hon. Sylvia Brett (fig. 34), daughter of the second Viscount Esher, in February 1911 and the birth of the first of three daughters. The couple met at the Ranee Margaret’s musical ensemble called the Greyfriars Orchestra. Rajah Charles showed a decided dislike for his independent-minded daughter-in-law.

Younger brother Bertram married Gladys Palmer in 1912, heiress to the Huntley & Palmers biscuit fortune, and their son Anthony was born in 1912. He was most likely to succeed to the throne despite the future Ranee Sylvia’s incessant lobbying for her daughters. A definite cloud now lay on Sarawak’s horizon.

Rajah Charles Vyner Brooke (fig. 34) was proclaimed May 24, 1917, and was formally installed on July 22, 1918. The country rode out the First World War and enjoyed steady growth in the 1920s introducing wireless communication and aviation, upgrading the infrastructure



Fig. 10: Angela Georgina Burdett-Coutts, Baroness Burdett-Coutts, by unknown artist, c. 1840 (National Portrait Gallery 6181).



Fig. 11: John Brooke, Rajah Mudah of Sarawak.



Fig. 12: Charles Anthony Brooke, Rajah of Sarawak.



Fig. 13: Sarawak stamp, first series, 1867.

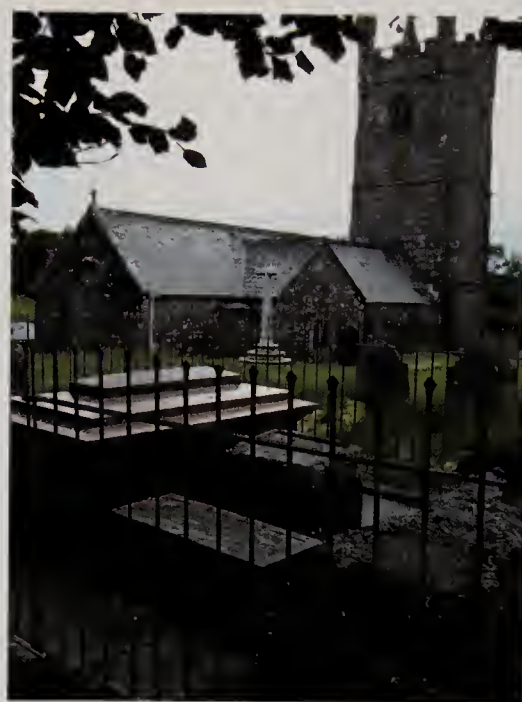


Fig. 14: Brooke family graves in Sheepstor, England.

and developing some oil production, even opening a cinema in Kuching called the Sylvia. Survivors of the preceding reign found the new Rajah far less Spartan and austere than his father and the Ranees attracted some attention for her identification with the relaxed standards of the “Roaring Twenties” as the decade was known in America and Britain. The Rajah and Tuan Muda generally worked closely together, though some strains remained.

The only decoration of the Raj, the Star of Sarawak, was instituted on Sept. 26, 1928, of which “old-timers” were sure Rajah Charles would have disapproved. Another historic figure passed from the scene with the death of Ranees Margaret on Dec. 1, 1936.

The Straits dollar to which the Sarawak dollar was tied was devalued to 2 shillings fourpence in 1906 (figs. 35–36). The .900 fine, 26.95 gram Straits silver dollar of Edward VII was struck 1903–1904; replaced by a 20.21 gram reduced size coin struck 1907–1909. The

last Straits dollar portraying George V weighed 16.85 grams of .500 silver and was struck 1919–1926. Use of these coins assured that there would never be a Sarawak silver dollar.

Post-war coinage for the Raj resumed in 1920 (figs. 37–41), conforming to the new Straits standard of .500 silver for the 1927-H 50 cents and .400 fine for the 1920-H coins of 20, 10 and 5 cents whose weights and sizes remained those of Rajah Charles. The weight of the 20 cents of 1927 H was reduced to 5.08 grams. A new alloy of 25% nickel, 76% copper was introduced for plain-edge 26.1mm 10 cents struck in 1920-H and 1927-H; 21mm 5 cents of 1920-H and 1927-H; and 18mm 1 cent dated only 1920-H. Declared current by Government Order No. III of March 15, 1921, the coins were legal tender up to \$2. Bronze returned with new 5.4mm cents dated 1927, 1929, 1930, 1937, and 1941, all with the “H” Mint mark. The 1941 cent is a major rarity, with 2,016,000 reported struck, but apparently lost in the Japanese invasion of 1941. Mint reports indicate 1,002,227 pieces



Fig. 15: Sulawesi (Celebes), 1804. AE kepeng (ANS 1917.216.4245, E.T. Newell donation) 22 mm.



Fig. 16: Sumatra, 1804. AE kepeng (ANS 1921.54.1137, E.T. Newell donation) 26 mm.



Fig. 17: Sarawak, 1841. AE kepeng (ANS 1921.54.514, E.T. Newell donation) 21 mm.



Fig. 18: Malaya, Straits Settlement, 1862. AE cent (ANS 1915.15.4, Howland Wood donation) 29 mm.



Fig. 19: Malaya, Straits Settlement, 1889. AR 20 cent (ANS 1956.163.710, gift of F.C.C. Boyd) 23 mm.



Fig. 20: Sarawak, 1863. AE cent (ANS 1911.105.501, Isaac J. Greenwood bequest) 29 mm.



Fig. 21: Sarawak, 1863. AE ½ cent (ANS 1916.192.242) 22 mm.



Fig. 22: Sarawak, 1863. AE ¼ cent (ANS 1916.192.243) 17 mm.

struck in 1942, but no specimens are known today. Struck only in 1933-H was the 18mm half cent authorized by Government Notice dated Nov. 13, 1933.

The Tuan Muda's son Anthony was declared Rajah Muda in March 1939, but the uncertainty of the Rajah and the succession were dramatized by the withdrawal of Anthony's title upon his marriage in October. Veteran observers suspected that Rajah Vyner was weary and was giving thought to abdication, partly under the influence of his Private Secretary Gerald MacBryan, an ex-Royal Navy officer who later divorced and converted to Islam.

The centenary of Brooke rule was celebrated in 1941 by promulgation of a constitution. Its cardinal principles included acknowledgment that the Brookes ruled in trust for the people; peoples' welfare was to be steadily upraised; there would be no exploitation; equal rights were declared for all. Justice was to be easily obtainable; the Rajah and all public servants freely accessible; freedom expression, writing, and worship were guaranteed. All races were to be admitted to public service, education was to be available to all, and the ultimate goal was declared to be self-government. The Rajah and his successors were pledged to continue these principles.

With the outbreak of war in the Pacific, the Rajah gave \$2.5 million to the British war effort and was visiting Australia in December 1941. The Tuan Muda worked in the Sarawak Office in London, perturbed because his son the erstwhile Rajah Muda had been dismissed from the Sarawak service. Captain Le Gros Clark was in command when Imperial Japanese forces arrived off Miri, capturing Kuching on Christmas Day. Fleeing civil servants burned files and Treasury notes before heading into the jungle. A column of civilians including women and children made it to Long Nawang in the mountains trying to reach Dutch territory, but they were overtaken and all were killed by pursuing Japanese. During the 3½ year occupation, hunger and disease racked the Sarawak population. Head-hunting resumed with Japanese heads as the target of choice, and one Kayan longhouse long exhibited the head of a Japanese Director of Education, whose glasses were carefully polished every morning. Sarawak and North Borneo were off the main thrust of the Allied roll-back of Japanese conquests. Australian forces liberated Labuan and Brunei on June 10, 1945, and arrived in Kuching on Sept. 11. Lord Mountbatten handed over control to the returning Rajah and Ranee on April 15, 1946.

Rajah Muda Anthony Brooke had directed the Provisional Government appointed by the Rajah and

charged with working out new arrangements with the Colonial Office. The Rajah suddenly dismissed his nephew the Tuan Muda and the Provisional Government and told the British government that he intended to cede Sarawak to the British Crown immediately. This decision violated his Accession Oath and the will of Rajah Charles. It also ignored the 1941 Constitution. Neither the Tuan Muda, the Council Negri, nor heads of the native communities were consulted at any step in this momentous decision. It was evident that the Rajah still feared his nephew and the "Hanoverian" anxiety came home to roost with a vengeance.

The Rajah appeared to believe that rebuilding Sarawak after the devastation of war was beyond his financial means and that post-war British governments might look askance at a territory still ruled by its own dynasty of English gentlemen. Victory of the Labour Party and the rising tide of anti-colonial rhetoric certainly influenced his thinking. Among non-Europeans, only the Chinese supported cession while other important groups including Malays and Dyaks were vigorously opposed. In the debates of the Council Negri the Tuan Muda spoke forcefully but reasonably against the move. The final vote of the Council Negri showed 19 votes for cession, 16 opposed.

The British government took over on July 1, 1946, and one of its first acts was to bar Anthony Brooke from the new colony as protests continued. Sir Charles Arden-Clarke was appointed first governor, then transferred to the Gold Coast. Former Tuan Muda Bertram died in England on Sept. 15, 1965. Second Governor Duncan Stewart arrived by launch from Sibuan, on Dec. 3, 1949, and was promptly assassinated by a young Malay. At this point Anthony Brooke called on his supporters to cease all demonstrations. The Malay and Dyak Associations replied that they would not abandon agitation to restore Brooke rule but would suspend public demonstrations. Anthony Brooke sought to reverse the cession by legal action without success. He displayed in full measure the Brooke idiosyncrasies, divorcing his wife Kathleen Hadden in 1973 to pursue the burgeoning peace movement and announcing that flying saucers were coming to bring peace and brotherhood to earth. He became a darling of American late-night television before marrying a Swedish peace worker and ultimately settling in New Zealand where he died on March 2, 2011.

Sarawak numismatics boasted a bizarre last gasp in the form of an undated Wooden Nickel inscribed *SARAWAK LIBERATION FRONT, CHRISTIAN BROOKE*,



Fig. 23: The Astana, on the north bank of the Sarawak River in Kuching.



Fig. 24: Margaret Brooke.



Fig. 25: Frederick Weld.

RAJAH around Good For/ 5 Cents In Trade/ After Reestablishment/ Of Brooke Rule. This token was associated with the late William Christensen of New Jersey, professional numismatist, student of Sarawak history and son of well-known dealer Henry Christensen.

Sarawak is today a constituent state of the Federation of Malaysia, largely composed of hereditary monarchies on the Malay peninsula. It is tempting to speculate how neatly a monarchical Sarawak would have fit into this federative mosaic.



Fig. 26: Sarawak, 1870. AE cent (ANS 1916.192.244) 29 mm.



Fig. 27: Sarawak, 1870. AE ½ cent (ANS 1940.160.743, gift of John F. Jones and E.T. Newell) 22 mm.



Fig. 28: Sarawak, 1870. AE ¼ cent (ANS 1921.54.1416, gift of E.T. Newell) 17 mm (images enlarged).



Fig. 29: Sarawak, 1892. AE cent (ANS 1915.66.8) 29 mm.



Fig. 30: Sarawak, 1900. AR 50 cent (ANS 1924.119.1) 31 mm.



Fig. 31: Sarawak, 1900. AR 20 cent (ANS 1924.119.2) 23 mm.



Fig. 32: Sarawak, 1900. AR 10 cent (ANS 1924.119.3) 21 mm.



Fig. 33: Sarawak, 1900. AR 5 cent (ANS 1950.122.112, gift of Wayte Raymond) 18 mm.

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Fig. 34: Portrait of Charles Vyner Brooke and Sylvia Brett.



Fig. 35: Malaya, Straits Settlements, 1903. AR dollar (ANS 1933.999.581, gift of A. Carson Simpson) 33 mm.



Fig. 36: Malaya, Straits Settlements, 1907. AR dollar (ANS 1956.163.723, gift of F.C.C. Boyd) 33 mm.



Fig. 37: Sarawak, 1927. AR 50 cent (ANS 1933.39.3) 31 mm.



Fig. 38: Sarawak, 1927. AR 20 cent (ANS 1933.39.4) 23 mm.



Fig. 39: Sarawak, 1920. AR 10 cent (ANS 1930.62.4) 21 mm.



Fig. 40: Sarawak, 1920. AR 5 cent (ANS 1933.39.5) 18 mm.



Fig. 41: Sarawak, 1927. AE cent. (ANS 1964.60.4, gift of R. Henry Norweb Sr.) 24 mm.



par S. Leroy d'après J^s Arago.

gravé par Leroy & Co.

ÎLES SANDWICH. UN OFFICIER DU ROI EN GRAND COSTUME.

COLONIALISM'S CURRENCY: A Short Numismatic History of the Hawaiian Kingdom

Matthew Wittmann

In October 1874, a New Zealand traveler bound for San Francisco stopped over in Honolulu, taking lodging at the idyllic Royal Hawaiian Hotel. The gentleman's pleasing stay was, however, soon disrupted when he tendered a sovereign to settle the bill for a sumptuous breakfast. To his "utter amazement," he received the following in change: "one English sixpence, two American dimes, two ditto half dimes, one quarter-dollar, a silver coin of Napoleon III, a Peruvian dollar, and a Mexican coin of some value indistinguishable." Dashing the money back in anger, he demanded "some one currency or other" that "represented something definite," but it was coolly returned by the proprietor with assurances that it was "all current coin of the realm." With nothing to do except pocket the "museum," as he took to calling his new collection of coins, the bewildered gentleman went for a stroll while considering the extraordinary monetary system that prevailed in the Hawaiian Islands. While United States coins had become the predominant currency by the 1870s, a motley mix of English, Austrian, French, Italian, Russian, Belgian, Mexican, Peruvian, and Spanish coins also had legal tender status at fixed rates set by the minister of finance. Moreover, a table published in an 1875 Hawaiian almanac shows an even greater range of coinage in circulation (fig. 1). This combination of currency turned everyday transactions into complicated affairs that could often overwhelm unfortunate visitors like our touring New Zealander.¹

The diversity of coinage present was a reflection of the prominent role that the Hawaiian Islands played during the nineteenth century as the crossroads of an emerging Pacific world shaped by the integrative forces of colonialism and capitalism. What follows is a short numismatic history of the islands during this transfor-

mative century, one that begins with the introduction of Western money during the late eighteenth century and ends with annexation of Hawai'i by the United States in 1898. This period was defined by the rise and fall of the Hawaiian Kingdom and the shifting cultural, commercial, and international relationships in which it was enmeshed. A numismatic perspective offers an illuminating, if admittedly idiosyncratic, way of looking at how Hawaiian history unfolded over the course of the nineteenth century. Coins and currency played a varying role in the islands, at once undermining the traditional basis of Native Hawaiian society while also buttressing the fortunes of the Kingdom in its struggle to remain independent. The apogee of this story was the national coinage issued by King Kalākaua in 1883, which was meant to bring order to the chaotic currency situation and to reaffirm Hawaiian sovereignty. The removal of the Kalākaua coins from circulation a few years after the annexation of the islands in 1898 was thus a richly symbolic move by the United States as it consolidated control over the new colony.

The rich numismatic story of the Hawaiian Kingdom is only a small part of the larger and longer history of the archipelago, which consists of eight major volcanic islands and numerous smaller islets and atolls. The islands were initially settled by Polynesian voyagers around AD 800. This occurred as part of a broader expansion of Polynesian peoples from their ancestral homeland in the region of Tonga and Samoa, legendarily known by the name Hawaiki. It was the memory and myth of this place from which Hawai'i in turn derived

1. The unnamed gentleman was serving as a correspondent for the *Otago Witness*, a newspaper published in Dunedin, New Zealand, while traveling to England via the newly established transpacific steamship route to San Francisco: November 14, 1874.

its name.² Links with other island groups were maintained through continued voyages even as the population of Polynesian settlers grew rapidly and spread throughout the archipelago. Around AD 1400 the tradition of long-distance voyaging came to end, inaugurating a long period of isolation during which a distinctively Hawaiian society and culture took shape. Hawai‘i developed into what archaeologists call an archaic state, one predicated upon the idea of divine kingship and a strict division between *maka‘āinana* (commoners) and the *ali‘i* or chiefly class. An elaborate *kapu* (taboo) system of laws and obligations came to govern social interactions, while a rich oral tradition based on Polynesian myths was supplemented by new Hawaiian legends and cultural forms like the *hula*. Native Hawaiians did not have money or an accepted medium of exchange as such. There was a well-developed barter system in which food and crafts were traded, and among the most valued possessions were bird feathers, which were used to make the spectacular ‘*ahu ‘ula* (cloaks) and *mahoile* (helmets) that adorned powerful *ali‘i* (see p. 22).³

When an expedition led by Captain James Cook stumbled across the islands in January 1778, it encountered a flourishing land and people made up of competing kingdoms based around the four largest islands Hawai‘i, O‘ahu, Maui, and Kaua‘i (fig. 2), each ruled by an *ali‘i akua* (god-king).⁴ Cook was a British explorer undertaking his third voyage through the Pacific, this time with the HMS *Resolution* and *Discovery* in search of the fabled Northwest Passage. After sailing north from the Society Islands, the ships first sighted O‘ahu and then several nearby islands in quick succession. Doubts about whether or not the islands were inhabited were dispelled the next day, when several canoes came off the shores to visit the ships as they stood off of Kaua‘i. Cook was “agreeably surprised” to find that the men spoke a language similar to that of Tahiti, and they seemed happy to come alongside the *Resolution*, but refused to board. Undeterred, Cook had some “brass medals” tied to a rope and lowered to a canoe, an offering that was reciprocated with several “small mackerel.”⁵ The medals were from a supply struck at the Soho Mint in 1772 at the behest of Sir Joseph Banks for Cook’s second voyage. Designed by Matthew Boulton, they featured a bust of King George III on the obverse, and a reverse that displayed their commemorative purpose (fig. 3). But as Cook observed in his journal, the medals were also meant “to be distributed to the Natives of, and left upon New Discovered countries as testimonies of being the first discovereries [*sic*].”⁶ And so it was that the inaugural exchange between Native Hawaiians and Europeans was numismatic in nature.

The next morning the *Resolution* sailed along the coast of Kaua‘i in search of a suitable anchorage. A place was eventually found near the mouth of the Waimea River, and armed boats were dispatched to look for fresh water. A large crowd of Hawaiians gathered as they came into shore, and the lieutenant in charge panicked as the crowd began to grab anything they could get ahold of, and he shot and killed a man clutching a boat hook.⁷ This murderous episode was characteristic of the early and all too often violent interactions that characterized relations between Native Hawaiians and *haole* (white/foreigner). Indeed, James Cook would himself be killed when the ships returned to the islands the following year after a fruitless search for the Northwest Passage. On this second visit, the expedition anchored in Kealahou Bay along the west coast of the island of Hawai‘i (fig. 4). Although relations were initially friendly, a succession of misunderstandings and incidents culminated in a pitched battle breaking out on the beach, in the course of which Cook, four marines, and numerous Hawaiians lost their lives. After a series of violent reprisals, the *Resolution* and *Discovery* sailed for England, and the publication of journals and reports from the expedition brought the archipelago Cook dubbed the “Sandwich Islands,” to the attention of the wider Western world.

During the late eighteenth and into the early nineteenth century, an ever-increasing number of European ships called at the islands, which proved to be a conveniently situated place for vessels on transpacific voyages to re-provision and make repairs. The first American ship to visit the islands was the *Columbia Rediviva* out of Boston in 1789. The *Columbia* was engaged in the newfound maritime fur trade, transporting otter pelts from the northwest coast of North America to China. Like Cook’s expedition before them, the Americans carried medals celebrating their voyage that were distributed in the islands (fig. 5).⁸ The medal was designed by the Boston

2. This essay follows modern orthography and uses diacritical marks for Hawaiian words and names. The ‘*okina* marks a phonetic glottal stop, e.g. Hawai‘i. The *kahakō*, or macron, simply indicates a long vowel. Exceptions have been made when quoting from primary source material, for which the original spelling has been preserved.

3. Malo 1893: 106–110.

4. For a fascinating account of the early history of the Hawaiian Islands see Kirch 2012.

5. Cook 1784: 191–92.

6. Three types of medal were produced. Two gold medals were struck, one for Banks and the other for King George III. Another one hundred and forty-two silver medals were given to Fellows of the Royal Society and other dignitaries. Some two thousand copper or platina medals were made for distribution by Cook, and the surplus was reused on the third voyage. Westwood 1926; Smith 1985; Beaglehole 1961: 16.

7. Cook 1784: 197–98.

8. As the medal indicated, the *Columbia* was accompanied by a tender, the *Lady Washington*, which remained on the Northwest Coast. When the *Columbia* arrived back in Boston in 1790, it became the first American vessel to circumnavigate the globe (Howay 1941).

FOREIGN COINS, IN THE MONEY TERMS OF THE UNITED STATES, ADOPTED
AS THE CURRENT RATES IN HONOLULU, H. I.

AUSTRIA		GERMANY	
Souverain	\$4 50	Ten Thaler	\$7 50
Ducat	2 00	Ducat	2 00
Rix Dollar	0 75	Thaler	0 62½
		Florin	0 37½
BELGIUM		INDIA	
Twenty-five Francs	4 50	Rupee	0 37½
Five Francs	1 00		
BOLIVIA		ITALY	
Dollar	1 00	Same as France	
Half Dollar	0 30		
Quarter Dollar	0 12½	MEXICO	
		Doubloon	15 00
BRAZIL		Half Dollar	0 50
20,000 Reis	10 00	Quarter Dollar	0 25
2,000 Reis	1 00		
BREMEN		NETHERLANDS	
Thaler, 72 grotes	0 62½	Ten Guilders	3 75
		2½ Guilders	1 00
CHILE		NEW GRANADA	
10 Pesos	8 00	Dollar, 1857	0 75
Dollar	1 00	Common Dollar	0 60
Half Dollar	0 37½		
Qr. Dollar and 20c piece ..	0 12½	PERU	
		Dollar	1 00
COLOMBIA		Half Dollar	0 37½
Dollar	0 60	Quarter Dollar	0 25
DENMARK		RUSSIA	
Ten Thaler	7 50	Five Roubles	4 00
Two Rix Daler	1 00		
ENGLAND		SPAIN	
Sovereign	4 90	Quarter Dollar	0 25
Half Sovereign	2 45	Reals	0 10
FRANCE		SOUTH AMERICA	
Twenty Francs, gold	3 90	Doubloon	15 00
Ten Francs, gold	1 95	Four Escudos	7 00
Five Francs, silver	1 00	Two Escudos	3 50
		One Escudo	1 75
		SWEDEN	
		Ducat	2 00

Fig. 1: Thos. G. Thrum, comp.,
Hawaiian Almanac and Annual
for 1875.



Fig. 2: Kalama, Na Mokupuni O Hawaii Nei. 1837 (Library of Congress).

merchant Joseph Barrell, who is listed with his partners on the reverse, and the dies are presumed to have been the work of Joseph Callendar.⁹ A few months later, George Mortimer of the British brig *Mercury* procured several of these medals, suggesting that the American hope that these numismatic mementos would “fix them in the remembrance of the natives” was perhaps overly optimistic.

Mortimer’s report that some medals were received “as presents, others by purchase,” was also illustrative of the nascent cultural and material transformation of Hawaiian society as the islands were drawn into global trade networks.¹⁰ The well-developed barter system that was the customary basis of the economy was initially disrupted by the introduction of new commodities, and then slowly displaced by an expanding capitalist monetary system over the course of the nineteenth century. The introduction of this new, disembedded, and abstract medium of exchange ultimately had a profound impact on Hawaiian society, but coins and currency were only gradually integrated into the thriving commercial market that quickly emerged in the islands.¹¹

The early decades of trade in the islands were dominated by the prevailing barter system, with Hawaiians trading fresh water, pigs, fish, yams, and other staples for pieces of iron, tools, cloth, guns, and whatever other novelties on the visiting vessels caught their eye. Initially, rates of exchange varied wildly given the incommensurable scales of valuation on each side. And while early visitors were able to secure what they perceived to be a bounty for a few nails, the market shifted as knowledge of *haole* needs and goods grew among the Hawaiian populace, and soon complaints about high prices and hard bargains abounded.¹² Relations also continued to be overlaid with both threats of and actual violence. In 1790, an offense by Captain Simon Metcalfe aboard the fur trader *Eleanora* against a Hawaiian chief was compounded by the theft of small boat that resulted in the death of a sailor. In reprisal, Metcalfe sailed to the village of Olowalu on Maui and put out a call to trade. When canoes gathered alongside the ship, a full broadside of cannon was fired into the thick of the crowd,

killing over one hundred people. A few weeks later the *Fair American*, a smaller tender to the *Eleanora* captained by Metcalfe’s son, arrived in the islands, and its crew was in turn killed in revenge for what has been remembered as the “Olowalu massacre.”¹³ While this sort of extreme violence was uncommon and commercial relations continued to expand, it does underscore how fraught interactions between foreigners and Hawaiians were in these early years.

One disastrous consequence of the new era of exchange inaugurated by Cook’s arrival was an influx of infectious diseases like smallpox, tuberculosis, and syphilis, which decimated the Hawaiian population.¹⁴ Against this background of demographic catastrophe, a variety of intersecting political and cultural developments were also transforming the islands. After over a decade of conquest and maneuvering, Kamehameha (fig. 6), a powerful *ali‘i nui* (ruling chief) from Hawai‘i, consolidated control over the entire island group in 1810, establishing himself as the absolute monarch of a unified Hawaiian Kingdom. The abrogation of the traditional *kapu* system in 1819, and the rising influence of American missionaries who arrived soon after, also presaged a new direction for Hawaiian culture. All of these changes occurred amid the growing commercialization of Hawaiian society, which was driven by the lucrative trade in sandalwood and the establishment of businesses that serviced the American whalers who began to flock to the Pacific in the 1820s.¹⁵

The fine harbor at Honolulu made it the port of choice for visiting ships, and natives and foreigners alike congregated there as it became the commercial center of the islands. The sex trade flourished, and the Hawaiian historian Samuel Kamakau reported that “sailors used to pay for women with a piece of cloth, a small mirror, or a pair of shears, beads, a small piece of steel, a plug of tobacco, or a small coin.”¹⁶ Unquestionably then, some coins were being exchanged during this time, but they were not necessarily circulating. Archibald Campbell, a Scottish sailor who lived in Honolulu in 1809–10, said of Hawaiians that: “Almost all their dealings are

9. A total of three hundred medals were produced in silver, copper, and pewter, the majority of which sailed with the *Columbia*. Bentley 1989.

10. Mortimer 1791: 254.

11. For the classic anthropological account of this turbulent period see Sahlins 1985; for a useful review of the ample anthropological literature concerning the introduction of modern money into traditional societies see Maurer 2006.

12. Morgan 1948: 59–61; Kuykendall 1938: 82–84.

13. Only one of the five crew members, Isaac Davis, was spared, and he went on to become an important adviser to Kamehameha. The elder Metcalfe left the islands without realizing that his murderous doings had indirectly led to the death of his own son (Kuykendall 1938: 24–25).

14. Debates about the pre-contact population of the Hawai‘i are particularly contentious, but most scholars posit a figure between 250,000 and 500,000. The first reasonably accurate census of the islands was undertaken by American missionaries in 1831–32, and counted 131,000 people, suggesting a catastrophic decline in the half century that followed Cook’s arrival (Kirch and Rallu, 2007).

15. For a compelling look at the history of the larger “Pacific World” during this period see Igler 2013.

16. Kamakau 1992: 280.



Fig. 3: Great Britain, 1772. Bronze medal by Matthew Boulton (ANS 1940.100.295, bequest of Robert J. Eidlitz) 42 mm.



Fig. 4: John Webber (artist), William Byrne (engraver), "A view of Karakakooa [Kealahakua] in Owhyhee," from James Cook, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*. London: G. Nicol, 1784 (Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History).



Fig. 5: United States, 1787. Pewter medal by Joseph Callendar (ANS 1932.29.24) 42 mm.



Fig. 6: Louis Choris, "Tammeamea, roi des iles Sandwich," from *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde*. Paris: Imprimerie Firmin Didot, 1822.

conducted by barter; they know the value of dollars, and are willing to take them in exchange; but they seldom appear again in circulation, being always carefully hoarded up.”¹⁷ A decade later the French explorer Louis de Freycinet reported a profusion of “piastres,” Spanish dollars or pieces of eight, which was the currency of choice in the burgeoning world of transpacific trade. The result, Freycinet continued, was that “although in reality the greater part of the sales are made by barter, the prices of the articles traded are ordinarily stated in silver money.”¹⁸

In this ad hoc manner, currency was slowly introduced and adopted in the islands, but familiarity with money was undoubtedly concentrated around the ports. Levi Chamberlin, the Honolulu-based business agent of the American missionaries, in 1825 requested that the organization send “cash” because “money was beginning to be an important article, and can be used in many instances to more advantage than articles of trade.” In contrast, missionary Sereno Edwards Bishop, who grew up in the village of Kaʻawaloa on Hawaiʻi in the 1830s, reported that “money in those days was hardly a medium of exchange among the natives, most of whom were not familiar with the appearance of coin.” He went on to observe that what coin was in circulation was “entirely Spanish, in dollars, quarters, and reals,” continuing that he “never saw a British or American coin of any sort” in his boyhood.¹⁹ Indeed, the persistence of a traditional subsistence economy outside of the major ports was evinced by the fact that Hawaiians were able to pay their taxes in produce until 1850, when a new law required payment in coin.²⁰

As the economy in the islands diversified and grew more sophisticated in the 1830s, the lack of a viable currency became an increasingly pertinent issue, particularly for those *haole* who sought to employ local labor in their assorted enterprises. An insufficient supply of coin led a frustrated William Hooper, the manager of an early sugar plantation at Kōloa on Kauaʻi owned by Ladd & Company, to issue his own scrip in 1836. The earliest version of this was made by overprinting French theater tickets, but as this proved inadequate a quantity of paper money was ordered from the Boston Bank Note Company. The three (*ekolu*) and five dollar (*elima kala*) notes resembled contemporary American bank notes, and featured a vignette of a whaling scene with an inscription in the Hawaiian language advising that it was redeemable at the company store in Kōloa.²¹ Other business owners soon followed this lead, and by 1843 the mission school at Lahainaluna on Maui, which instructed students in engraving and possessed a working press, was printing currency for both itself (fig. 7) and on contract to individuals. A forgery scandal involving two students brought a halt to this venture, but the

mission-issued money demonstrates how great the want was for a functional currency and shows the shape of the Hawaiian monetary system.²² The dollar became “dala” or “kala” and the cent became “keneta” in the Hawaiian language, and the denominations were based on the dominant Spanish currency:

<i>hookahi dala</i>	one dollar
<i>hapalua</i>	half dollar
<i>hapaha</i>	quarter dollar
<i>hapawalu</i>	one eighth dollar
<i>hapaumi</i>	one sixteenth dollar
<i>ekolu keneta</i>	three cents

The 12 ½ cent *hapawalu* (fig. 8) was equivalent to the Spanish real (fig. 9), and the standard rate of pay for a day’s work. The scarcity of coin was such that a 12 ½ cent piece was more often than not simply a quarter that had been cut into two “bits,” and the need for coin to pay laborers proved to be a persistent problem for employers. One irony of the general shortage of coinage was that merchants at Honolulu and Lahaina who serviced the whaling industry were importing large amounts of coin, but rather than circulating in the islands, it was being sold at a premium to needy captains for bills of exchange.²³

By the mid-1840s, something close to a currency crisis was brewing in the islands. The government, which was reorganized as a constitutional monarchy with a strong legislature in 1840, was preoccupied with debates over land tenure. This resulted in the *Mahele* (division) in 1848 that reapportioned lands among Native Hawaiians, but also allowed for private ownership by *haole*.²⁴ The “cultural power” of Western political economy was reordering Native Hawaiian life in the islands and allowing *haole* missionaries, merchants, and politicians to play an increasing influential role in the affairs of the Hawaiian Kingdom.²⁵ Despite frequently voiced complaints, it was not until the 1846 legislative session that the currency situation was addressed. At that time a law was passed that posited a “currency of the Hawaiian Islands” valued on the American model of 100 cents to the dollar, but retaining the by now well-established Spanish denominations (dollar, 1/2 dollar, 1/4 dollar, 1/8 dollar, 1/16 dollar). The legislation made no provision for the design or minting of the money beyond the cent, a copper coin impressed with the head of Kamehameha III. A provision necessarily allowed “gold and silver coins wearing the legalized impress of any sovereign state” to continue to circulate “at their current or merchantable value, for the time being,” the implication being that the Hawaiian government would soon be minting the silver coins, but ultimately only the copper cents were ever manufactured.²⁶



Fig. 7: Lahanaluna Seminary, Maui, 1843. Hapalua (half dollar) scrip. 56 × 39mm (images enlarged). (Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library & Archives).

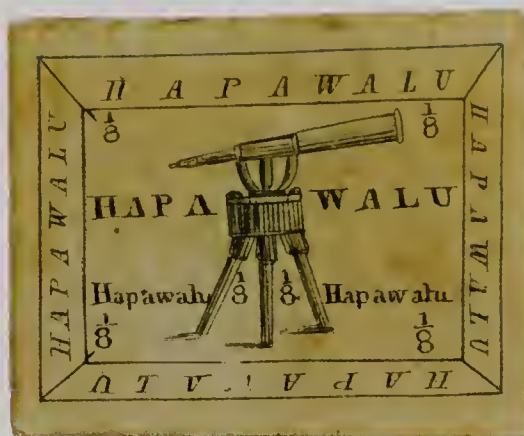


Fig. 8: Lahanaluna Seminary, Maui, 1843. Hapawalu (one-eighth dollar) scrip. 34 × 26mm (image enlarged). (Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library & Archives).



Fig. 9: Republic of Mexico, Zacatecas, 1846. Silver real (1934.1.538, gift of J. Gutttag). 22mm.



Fig. 10: United States, 1847. Copper keneta (cent) (ANS 1940.160.1146, gift of J.F. Jones and E.T. Newell). 27mm.



Fig. 11: Iron die for Hawaiian keneta, 1847. Attributed to the mint of H. M. and E. I. Richards, Attleboro, Massachusetts (ANS 0000.999.53136).

The 1847 Hawaiian *keneta* (fig. 10) was similar to, but a bit slighter than a contemporary U.S. large cent. A portrait of Kamehameha III commonly attributed to Edward Hulseman was on the obverse, with an inscription noting he was KA MOI, i.e. "The King." The reverse text simply designated the issuing authority, AUPUNI HAWAII, the government of Hawai'i, and the denomination, *hapa haneri* (part of a hundred). The Hawaiian government ordered 100,000 coins at a cost of \$870, and it is supposed that they were struck at the private mint of H. M. & E. I. Richards in Attleboro, Massachusetts. Two different obverse dies and five reverse dies with a varying number of berries in the wreath were used; the thirteen-berry reverse die is in the collection of the American Numismatic Society (fig. 11). The coins arrived in Honolulu in May of 1847 and entered circulation soon after, but "owing to the prejudices of

17. Campbell 1822: 144. Kamakau's near-contemporary history of this period is particularly critical of the *ali'i*, and the ways in which they controlled trade to reap gains at the expense of the *maka'āinana* (Kamakau 1992).
18. Freycinet quoted in Kuykendall 1938: 84.
19. Levi Chamberlin to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, August 27, 1825, quoted in Kuykendall 1938: 95 n45; Bishop 1916: 24; Ellis 1917: 310.
20. Woods 2011.
21. Billam-Walker 1940: 16–17.
22. Morse 1968.
23. Morgan 1940: 101–102; Kuykendall 1953: 138–39.
24. It has been argued that by severing the traditional connection of Native Hawaiians to the land, the *Mahele* was the critical event in the colonization of the islands by the United States (Kame'eleihiwa 1992).
25. For somewhat divergent accounts of the impact that adoption of Western law and principles of political economy had on Native Hawaiians see Merry 2000 and Osorio 2002.
26. Kingdom of Hawaii 1846: 185.



Fig. 12: Mexico City, 1771. Silver 8 real of Charles III (ANS 1991.78.135, gift of James F. Nestor). 39 mm.



Fig. 13: Paul Emmert (artist), G. H. Burgess (engraver), *View of Honolulu from the Harbor*. San Francisco: Britton & Rey, 1854 (Library of Congress).



Fig. 14: United States, ca. 1854. Bronze medal of the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society (ANS 1913.79.2, gift of Rev. F. Ely). 64 mm (images reduced).

merchants against small transactions" they were not particularly well received or widely used.²⁷

The failure of the copper cent led the Hawaiian government to abandon its plan to mint silver coins, and the confusing status quo prevailed. In a seemingly fruitless attempt to bring some clarity to the currency situation, the government compiled and published an official "Table of Coins" in 1848 that showed "the comparative intrinsic value of some of the principal Coins current in the Hawaiian Islands, or that may be offered in exchange."²⁸ The resulting table befits the status of the islands as the commercial entrepôt of the mid-nineteenth-century Pacific, listing 53 gold coins and 104 silver coins from around the world, with information about their assay, weight, and rate of exchange. The table was based on English coinage, rating the assay of each coin as better or worse than the English standard, giving its content of pure gold and silver grains, and then expressing its exchange value in sterling. For example, a Mexican dollar "with globes and pillars" (fig. 12) was listed with an assay $4\frac{1}{2}$ pennyweight worse than the English standard, and with a total of 377.4 grains of pure silver it is valued at 4 shillings and 4,79 pence. The majority of the currency specified was from the United States, England, France, Denmark, Russia, and Spain, but miscellaneous coins from India, the Dutch East Indies, Japan, and German cities such as Hamburg and Hanover were also listed. The practical application of such a table was questionable, particularly in everyday transactions, and visitors continually remarked on the peculiar exchange system. English visitor Willim Elwes noted that in every exchange there was "sometimes a heavy loss, and sometimes a heavy gain," which depended almost entirely on how locals valued the currency (and not on government-issued tables).²⁹

One byproduct of this complicated and polyglot monetary system was the opportunity it created for counterfeiters. In 1847 a visiting vessel passed a large amount of counterfeit Bolivian coin in Honolulu, a crime that a local newspaper complained struck "at the very root of honest dealing" in the community. A few years later a panic about the veracity of certain Mexican dollars threatened to bring business in the bustling port to a halt (fig. 13). In response, the legislature devoted an entire chapter of the "Penal Code of 1850" to counterfeiting, specifying a penalty of "imprisonment at hard labor for life" for counterfeiters and anyone caught "uttering" counterfeit coin.³⁰ One of the more unusual incidents in this vein concerned scrip made by Linton L. Torbert, who owned a sugar plantation on Maui. His solution to the lack of currency there was simply to issue a one-inch square piece of *tapa* (barkcloth) with the number twenty-five in both Roman and Arabic

numerals and his initials in between. When a local tax collector was caught counterfeiting the quarter-dollar squares and brought to trial, he was freed on the basis that Torbert's scrip was too easily counterfeited.³¹

Whatever the issues were with the monetary system, the Hawaiian government had more pressing problems, most simply and significantly maintaining its sovereignty amidst the rising tide of imperialism sweeping the Pacific. In 1843, the French takeover of Tahiti and the so-called "Paulet Affair," during which Kamehameha III was forced to temporarily submit to British rule, underscored the precarious position of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Although the government was able to negotiate treaties in the 1840s with the leading powers, including the United States, that recognized the independence of the islands, this was hardly a guarantee of their future autonomy. The California Gold Rush and the subsequent growth of American activity in the Pacific led some influential *haole* and expansionists in the United States to advocate for annexation.³² From the 1850s forward, the defining issue for the Hawaiian Islands was its evolving colonial relationship with the United States, which culminated in the American-backed overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani in 1893.

Amongst a number of interrelated factors contributing to this outcome was an ongoing demographic shift that saw the *haole* population rise from 1,500 to almost 20,000 between 1850 and 1890, while the Native Hawaiian population fell by half, from 70,000 to 35,000, over the same period.³³ The growth of the Hawaiian economy was reflected in the establishment of a local Chamber of Commerce and the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society, which promoted agricultural enterprise and provided a forum for the *haole* elite to address assorted economic issues, including the vexing currency situation. In a speech to the Society, the powerful government minister Robert C. Wyllie stated that the "three fundamental elements essential to our progress" were "cheap land, cheap money and cheap labor," which gives an idea as to the priorities of its members.³⁴ The Society also held an annual competition at which medals (fig. 14) manufactured at the United States Mint in Philadelphia were awarded to worthy agricultural producers

27. In 1862, there were still 88,000 unissued coins in the treasury, meaning that less than 12,000 ever even entered into circulation. Medcalf and Russell 1991, 37; Breen 1988: 672.

28. *The Polynesian*, February 26, 1848.

29. Elwes 1854: 239–40.

30. *The Polynesian*, November 6, 1847 and June 22, 1850; Kingdom of Hawaii 1850: 76–78.

31. Medcalf and Russell 1991: 14.

32. Kuykendall 1938: 383–88.

33. Lind 1980.

34. Wyllie 1852: 41.

and innovators.³⁵ The sugar barrel featured amidst the bounty on the obverse design pointed to the rapid rise of the sugar industry, which was inextricably linking the islands to U.S. markets and capital.

The negotiation of an 1875 reciprocity treaty revamped commercial relations between the United States and the Hawaiian Islands, most importantly removing the tariff on Hawaiian sugar. Coinciding with the adoption of the reciprocity treaty was an 1876 act that declared “the gold coins of the United States of America shall be the standard and legal tender in this Kingdom in all payments of debts, at their nominal value” and made U.S. silver coins legal tender for “any amount not exceeding fifty dollars.”³⁶ Up until this time, American coinage was simply one of many that were current in the islands, but this elevated the U.S. dollar to a privileged position in commerce. Keeping actual gold coins in the islands, however, proved more problematic because the exchange rates fixed by the government created opportunities for banks and speculators to profit by hoarding gold from the islands and either exchanging it for silver in San Francisco or charging gold-needy individuals and businesses in the islands a premium.³⁷ In 1880, the longtime newspaper editor Henry M. Whitney decried the gold standard as a chimera, bemoaning the fact that “our currency still consists, as it did when the law was enacted, wholly of silver coins and silver certificates; the business of the metropolis being transacted chiefly with paper, and that of the country with coin.”³⁸

As Whitney alluded to, paper money had assumed a prominent role in the business community, and it fueled the expansion of the Hawaiian economy. The civil code of 1859 included a provision that allowed the Hawaiian Treasury to issue “certificates of deposit” to facilitate financial transactions by sparing citizens the convenience of counting out large amounts of coin. The Treasury simply issued a rather plain-looking note for the amount of funds received and set the coins aside until the note was redeemed. While many businesses took advantage of this service, there was evident public skepticism about even this sort of fully backed paper money as an 1868 assessment by the Minister of Finance C. C. Harris reported that the currency of the kingdom remained “excessively metallic.”³⁹ One result of discussions surrounding the reciprocity treaty and the accompanying move to a gold standard based on the U.S. dollar, was an effort to revamp the paper money system.

In 1877, the American Banknote Company was contracted to produce new certificates, but when the cost of producing unique designs was deemed prohibitive, stock vignettes were used for the \$20, \$50, and \$100

denominations (fig. 15). The only exceptions were the \$500 bill, for which a portrait of the reigning monarch King Kalākaua was engraved, and the reverses, which featured the coat of arms of the Hawaiian kingdom. The notes entered circulation in 1879 and proved so popular that the government ordered a new \$10 note less than a year later.⁴⁰ As before, individuals simply took their silver coins to the treasury, where they were given a note that had been attached to a stub retained by the Department of Finance recording the serial number and other particulars of the transaction. By 1884, eight hundred thousand dollars worth of certificates were outstanding, backed by “special deposits” consisting of \$244,000 in Hawaiian silver coin, \$299,000 in American gold coin, \$45,500 in American trade and standard dollars, and \$210,500 in mixed foreign coin.⁴¹ The introduction of paper money by the Hawaiian government cleared up a number of problems with the currency system, particularly for larger transactions, but it did little to solve the cumbersome coinage situation.

One of the best examples of the essentially ad hoc character of the monetary system was the saga of the American dime. The 1846 currency law adopted the American model of one hundred cents to a dollar, but only valued coins in Spanish-derived denominations, with the Spanish eighth of a dollar or *real*, valued at 12½ cents. The want of coin was such that an American dime (fig. 16) was initially accepted as par with the *real* (see fig. 9), despite their ostensibly lower value, which led unscrupulous speculators to import them in volume. The Hawaiian government responded to this by mandating the value of a dime at one tenth of a dollar in July of 1850, but by this point so many were in circulation that there was an uproar from the community. The reaction of Native Hawaiians to the devaluing of the dime was particularly strong, and thereafter most simply refused to accept them. The lack of “counters” was so acute that the government passed a law in 1859 explicitly stating that dimes and half dimes were “current coin of this kingdom,” but “so inveterate was the hatred of the native population towards these coins,” that they still failed to circulate. It was not until 1867, when merchants convinced the government to debase the *real* to 10 cents that the now undervalued Spanish coin was driven out of circulation and replaced by the American dime.⁴²

While small change was a persistent annoyance, an even greater struggle was ensuring that the fixed exchange rates in the islands were aligned with those of other ports around the Pacific, most importantly San Francisco. Changes in the valuation of foreign coins in California were a constant source of consternation for Honolulu merchants and the Hawaiian government, who had to adjust



Fig. 15: United States, 1879. Hawaiian Treasury \$100 Certificate of Deposit. American Bank Note Company (Hawaii State Archives). 198 × 94 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 16: United States, 1849. Silver dime. (ANS 0000.999.4796). 15.5 mm (images enlarged).



Fig. 17: Australia, 1865. Gold sovereign. (ANS 0000.999.38144). 22 mm (images enlarged).

35. The dies were engraved by Francis S. Mitchell and the number minted is unknown, but 1857 is the last year in which they were produced (Julian 1977: 190).
36. Kingdom of Hawaii 1876: 114–16.
37. Julian 1981: 81, 86.
38. *Hawaiian Gazette*, July 21, 1880.
39. Kingdom of Hawaii 1959: 104; Kingdom of Hawaii 1868: 7–8.
40. The first printing cost \$1655.42 and include 9,000 twenties, 4,500 fifties, 2,900 hundreds, and 200 five hundred dollar notes (Medcalf and Fong 1966: 5–10).
41. Kingdom of Hawaii 1884: 11.
42. Kingdom of Hawaii 1859: 358; *The Polynesian*, October 20, 1858; Hodge and Ferris 1951: 6–8.



Fig. 18: Three hula dancers, ca. 1890. (Hawaii State Archives).



Fig. 19: After P. J. Rennings. "Ski-ing the Waves at Waiki," from William Sabin, Hawaii. Honolulu: Paradise of the Pacific Publishing Co., 1921.



Fig. 20: After Jules Tavernier, "Burning Lake of Kilauea, Hawaiian Islands" from The Wasp. December 1884. Schmidt Label & Litho. Co.

their own rates or risk being caught out with overvalued currency. In the summer of 1859 for example, news arrived of a new table introduced in San Francisco that lowered values on many coins, inducing a citywide panic as businesses and citizens all tried at once to rid themselves of the affected currency. The Australian sovereign (fig. 17), one of the more common gold coins in circulation, was revalued from \$5.00 to \$4.75, causing a widespread loss, but keeping away a flood of debased gold.⁴³ The success of Honolulu as a commercial port, its position at the crossroads of the Pacific, and what might charitably be described as its dynamic currency situation turned the islands into a working example of Gresham's law as shifting exchange rates drove different currencies in and out of the islands.

By the 1870s, the Hawaiian Islands were well connected to the world via steamship, which helped insulate the economy from wild currency swings and also led to an increase in visiting travelers. Tourists were lured there by the tranquil delights of the islands, which encompassed a range of "exotic" experiences, from *hula* dancing and surfing to the chance to see an active volcano and flowing lava (figs. 18–20). Narratives of these tours almost invariably have a numismatic element. Most frequently of course, as with our bewildered New Zealand traveler, were complaints about the confusion that the range of currency caused. Since at least the 1850s, a group of Native Hawaiian youths along the wharf had been showing off their swimming prowess by diving for coins thrown into the harbor by sailors and other visitors. In his youth, eventual king David Kalākaua had been one of them, and he imparted that the trick was to get underneath the coin and catch it as it descended before it hit the bottom.⁴⁴ Business only increased with the arrival of transpacific steamships, and the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* reported that "kanaka" boys (a colloquial term for Native Hawaiians) diving for coins thrown by passengers of the *City of New York* collected almost thirteen dollars during a brief stopover. Actor Edmund Leathes reported that he had "thrown a coin some distance in the water, which must be quite thirty feet deep, and immediately several Kanakas have dived in the sea, and sometimes have remained underwater so long that I have scarcely expected to see them come to the surface alive." Leathes suggested that "the coins cast into the bay are almost always found," but when the harbor was dredged in 1902, a veritable treasure of old coins from around the world was discovered.⁴⁵ Another popular pastime was a visit to Kīlauea on the island of Hawai'i to observe the lava flows. Tourists would often make a numismatic memento by working coins into a lump of red lava and then allowing it to cool, leaving the coin embedded in lava rock.⁴⁶

The need for workers in the rapidly expanding sugar industry also brought a new group of immigrants to

the islands in the form of contract laborers. Initially, the workers recruited were Chinese, but this shifted to Japanese and Portuguese as the century progressed. Salaries were set by contract, and one way that owners contrived to keep profits high was by forcing workers to shop in company stores, for which tokens were created to serve as small change. The Wailuku plantation struck tokens in *real* (12 ½ cent) and half-*real* (6 cent) denominations at its blacksmith shop; a first series in 1871 (fig. 21) and then a more elaborate set in 1880 (fig. 22). The use of Spanish denominations points to the continued familiarity of that currency among workers around the Pacific, even if U.S. coins were by then predominating on the islands. The Haiku (fig. 23) and Grove Ranch (fig. 24) plantations on Maui likewise employed tokens, with those of the former likely to have been minted and imported from the United States.⁴⁷

While the prosperity of the plantations buoyed the Hawaiian economy, it also exacerbated internal differences between an American-oriented sugar elite and a loose alliance of Native Hawaiians and *haole* who were more invested in the independence of the island kingdom. When King Lunalilo died in 1874 without having named a successor, a tumultuous election saw David Kalākaua installed as the new *mo'i* (king). He rewarded supporters with a small diamond-shaped medal, the first in a series of increasingly elaborate decorations that were issued during his reign to commemorate events and recognize service to the Hawaiian Kingdom.⁴⁸ King Kalākaua (fig. 25) was an exponent of "Hawai'i for Hawaiians," and was at least perceived to be less friendly to American interests than his rivals. As part of a broader effort to reassert Hawaiian sovereignty, he sponsored a revival of traditional Hawaiian culture and traveled abroad to bolster the kingdom's standing with nations around the world. One direct outcome of the resurgence of Hawaiian nationalism was to bring the issue of a national coinage back to the fore.⁴⁹ The missionary-educated Kalākaua might have been familiar with Thomas Jefferson's famous comment: "Coinage is peculiarly an Attribute of Sovereignty. To transfer its exercise to another country, is to submit it to another sovereign."⁵⁰ Whether or not that was the case, it was clear that Kalākaua and his principal

43. *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, June 2, 1859.

44. Bird 1875: 269–70; Armstrong 1904: 173.

45. *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, May 17, 1879; Leathes 1880: 109–10.

46. Nicholson 1881: 256–57.

47. For the best introduction to plantation life in the Hawaiian Islands see Takaki 1983. On plantation currency see Medcalf and Russell 1991: 52–54, 57.

48. Medcalf and Russell 1991: 152–57.

49. On Kalākaua's embrace of the "arts of kingship," see Kamehiro 2009.

50. *Gazette of the United States*, New York, April 21, 1790.

adviser Walter Murray Gibson believed that a national coinage would “add to the prestige of the Kingdom,” and “inspire the confidence of the people” by demonstrating its independence from the encroaching influence of the United States.⁵¹

The new coinage was authorized by the Coinage Act of 1880 and financed by the National Loan Act of 1882, but implementation was delayed by political maneuvering.⁵² The US Mint was contracted for the work and Charles E. Barber engraved the dies, which were then forwarded to the San Francisco mint where production was begun in November 1883. The original mintage was for almost two million pieces with a total face value of one million, the cost for the design and production of which came in at around twenty thousand dollars (figs. 26–29):

Denomination		Minted	Face Value
<i>akahi dala</i>	one dollar	500,000	\$500,000
<i>hapalua</i>	half dollar	700,000	\$350,000
<i>hapaha</i>	quarter dollar	500,000	\$125,000
<i>umi keneta</i>	ten cent	250,000	\$25,000

There was some confusion between the Hawaiian government and the mint because the original authorization specified a one-eighth dollar while the contract called for coins that were the same weight and fineness of United States coins, i.e., a dime. Hubs were engraved for both, but only the dime entered production. A very few *hapawalu* (one-eighth dollar) were struck in proof, and a silver type can be found in the American Numismatic Society’s collections (fig. 30). A portrait of Kalākaua adorned the obverse of each, with his full title, “Kalakuau I King of Hawai’i,” as the legend. The reverses varied, but each included a legend of the phrase “Ua Mau ke Ea o ka Aina i ka Pono,” an expression of Hawaiian sovereignty that is commonly translated as “the life of the land is perpetuated in righteousness.”⁵³ The reverse of the *akahi dala* featured an impressive design of the complete coat of arms of the kingdom, while size considerations limited the half and quarter dollars to just the crest. The reverse of the *umi keneta* was engraved with a wreath that recalled the 1847 Hawaiian cent, topped with the small crown from the crest. All twenty-five sets of the dies (five for each denomination), with obverses defaced, were turned over to the Hawaiian government in 1888 and are now held at the Hawai’i State Archives.

The first shipment of coins was received in December 1883, but ongoing political machinations and the opposition of Honolulu businessmen who feared the surfeit of silver would destabilize the economy slowed its introduction. The Legislative Assembly of 1884 took up the issue, and a new currency act reconfirmed U.S. gold

coins as the standard legal tender and limited silver coins to those of the United States and Hawaiian Kingdom. All other foreign silver coins in circulation could be exchanged at the treasury for their nominal value in Hawaiian coins, but after the first day of December 1884, they no longer had legal tender status and would only be valued as bullion.⁵⁴ While a motley mix of coins continued to circulate as small change, the act seemed to have finally brought order to the long-jumbled currency situation of the Hawaiian Islands.

Unfortunately, the debate over the new currency became part of a larger power struggle between Kalākaua and a *haole* elite intent on exerting its influence in the islands.⁵⁵ The government’s fiscal affairs were fiercely disputed, and a troubled financial outlook caused by a drop in the price of sugar only exacerbated tensions. Matters came to a head in 1887, when a cabal called the Hawaiian League, backed by an armed militia, subverted the government by forcing Kalākaua to sign a new constitution that severely limited his power and curtailed the rights of Native Hawaiians more generally. The so-called “Bayonet Constitution” was the beginning of the end for the Hawaiian kingdom, and it was an attempt by Kalākaua’s sister and successor Queen Lili’uokalani to promulgate a more equitable constitution that led to a coup d’état in January 1893. The overthrow was accomplished with the aid of U.S. military forces and put an American-oriented regime in control of the islands. Although a nominal Republic of Hawai’i was formed, the ultimate goal of the *haole* elite that took power was annexation by the United States. Against Native Hawaiian resistance and in the face of challenges from anti-imperialist Americans (fig. 31), the Hawaiian Islands were formally and arbitrarily annexed by the United States on July 4, 1898.⁵⁶

Despite now being a colony of the United States, the Kalākaua coinage and Hawaiian paper money continued to circulate. The currency was an obvious reminder, particularly to those that opposed annexation, of the

51. Kingdom of Hawaii 1880: 16.
52. For the best account of the particulars and the furtive involvement of sugar baron Claus Spreckels see Adler 1960.
53. The quote is from the speech given by Kamehameha III on July 31, 1843, after Hawaiian sovereignty was restored after the abortive British takeover of the islands known as the Paulet Affair. The phrase was adopted at the state motto and appeared on the official Hawaii state quarter issued in 2008.
54. Kingdom of Hawaii 1884: 20–23.
55. For a detailed account of debates over the currency and financial affairs of the Hawaiian Kingdom see Adler 1960; Andrade 1977; Kuykendall 1967: 86–94.
56. For a full account of the politics and process of annexation see Kuykendall 1967: 582–650; on the Native Hawaiian role and resistance to the same see Silva 2004.



Fig. 21: Wailuku Plantation, Maui, 1871. Copper 6 cent token (ANS 1940.160.1147, gift of J.F. Jones and E.T. Newell). 18 mm.



Fig. 22: Wailuku Plantation, Maui, 1880. Copper real (12 1/2 cent) token (ANS 1940.88.324). 23 mm.



Fig. 23: Haiku Plantation, Maui, 1882. Copper 'rial' token (ANS 0000.999.20267). 22 mm.



Fig. 24: Grove Ranch Plantation, Maui, 1886. (Copper 12 1/2 cent token. (ANS 1918.999.166). 21 mm.



Fig. 25: J. J. Williams (photographer), "King of Hawaii David Kalakaua," ca. 1882. (Hawaii State Archives).



Fig. 26: United States, 1883. Silver akahi dala (ANS 1933.122.4, gift of Howland Wood). 38 mm.



Fig. 27: United States, 1883. Silver hapalua (ANS 1933.122.3, gift of Howland Wood). 31 mm.



Fig. 28: United States, 1883. Silver hapaha (ANS 1933.122.2, gift of Howland Wood). 24 mm.



Fig. 29: United States, 1883. Silver umi keneta (ANS 1933.122.1, gift of Howland Wood). 18 mm.



Fig. 30: United States, 1883. Silver hapawalu (ANS 1933.122.5, gift of Howland Wood). 19 mm.



Fig. 31: Taylor, Charles Jay. "Another shotgun wedding, with neither party willing," Puck. December 1, 1897. (Library of Congress).

prior independence of the islands, and the United States Congress took steps to remove it from circulation in early 1903. The law provided for the redemption of silver certificates until January 1, 1905, after which it became "unlawful to circulate the same as money."⁵⁷ It also declared that Hawaiian silver coins would not be legal tender after January 1, 1904, though they could be exchanged at par for American currency until then. The balance of Hawaiian silver was subsequently shipped to San Francisco and recoinced as United States coins. Many Hawaiians, whether simply as a memento or as an expression of solidarity with the subverted kingdom, made their Kalākaua coins into necklaces, pins, and other decorative objects.

Historian Jonathon Osorio has observed that colonialism came to the Hawaiian Islands "through a slow, insinuating invasion of people, ideas, and institutions," and the introduction of coins and currency was part and parcel of this process.⁵⁸ Money undermined the traditional basis of Hawaiian society and facilitated the ongoing, if not always forthrightly acknowledged, colonization of the islands by the United States. In 1893, Eleanore Pendergrast, a friend and companion of the recently deposed queen, wrote a song, *Kaulana Nā Pua* ("Famous are the Flowers"), in support of members of the Royal Hawaiian Band who refused to take an oath of loyalty to the new provisional government.⁵⁹ One verse in particular captures something of the fraught role that coins and currency played in the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom and poetically expresses the resilience of traditional Hawaiian culture.

<i>‘Aole mākou a’e minamina</i>	We do not value
<i>I ka pu’ukālā a ke aupuni</i>	The government’s sums of money
<i>Ua lawa mākou i ka pōhaku</i>	We are satisfied with the stones
<i>I ka ‘ai kamaha’o o ka ‘āina</i>	Astonishing food of the land

57. United States Government 1903: 770–71.

58. Osorio 2002: 3.

59. Nordyke and Noyes 1993.

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ROTY IN 1889

Roty

RENAISSANCE MAN: The Work of Medal Innovator Louis-Oscar Roty in Drawings, Medals, and Letters at the ANS

David Hill

French medalist Louis-Oscar Roty (facing page) is one of those artists who, like his pupil, Lincoln cent designer Victor David Brenner, produced a work of art that is instantly familiar, but whose name mostly draws blank stares. Roty's ubiquitous creation was *La Semeuse* (The Sower) (fig. 1), which debuted on France's coins in 1897, was adapted for postage stamps in 1903, and continues life today, in an updated design, on the euro. Though anonymous to the masses, during his lifetime Roty was celebrated in the art world for work in a form that was enjoying a remarkable resurgence, particularly in France, with Roty himself in the vanguard. To his contemporary critics he was "probably the greatest living exponent of the medalists' art in the world,"¹ "the one modern medallist...we all profess to value so highly,"² and "the supreme master, whose every touch, firm, strong, delicately imaginative, reveals his genius."³

And when the master died in 1911, the ANS made a great effort to honor him—only natural, it seems, since Roty was, in fact, a member of the Society. Mineralogist and Tiffany vice president George Frederick Kunz was engaged to speak on the great artist's life at a meeting of the Society, and numerous examples of his works were put on display. Kunz's words were eventually incorporated into an article in the *American Journal of Numismatics* that ran to thirty-one pages, filled with reminiscences, testimonials, photographs, and a detailed catalog of the artist's works.⁴ Today, the ANS has one of the finest collections of Roty medals in the world, the bulk of which, nearly one hundred of the artist's own specimens, were donated by his son, Georges, in 1959. One might look at all of this and deduce strong personal ties between the Rotys and the ANS. It appears that this was not the case. Roty had been a member—but only for four months before his death. He had joined in

1910, just after the Society had stepped onto the world stage, numismatically speaking, with its International Exhibition of Medallion Art, at which eighty-two Roty medals were displayed. Other artists and art world luminaries—Auguste Rodin, Godefroid Devreese, Fernand Mazerolle—joined at the same time. As corresponding members, a category open to those living outside of the United States, they were not expected to play an active role in the Society's affairs.

It also appears that the marvelous collection donated by his son found its way to the ANS not through a deep connection to his family but rather by happy accident. Georges Roty, getting on in years and looking for an American museum that would be interested in acquiring the medals he had inherited from his father, had approached special assistant Joseph Verner Reed at the American Embassy in Paris to ask for help. The great medalist's reputation seems to have completely evaded Reed, who nevertheless agreed to spread the word, including to his friend, A. Hyatt Mayor, curator at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. "Here are the facts pertaining to a minor art project (very minor)," he wrote. "Are they beautiful? Yes, if you happen to be interested in medals. Do they have any value? I should think not."⁵ Luckily, A. Hyatt Mayor by that time was also serving as president of the Hispanic Society of America, the

1. "Medals—A Fine Art," *Arts and Decoration* 2, no. 5 (March 1912): 199.

2. E.B.S. Forrer, "Oscar Roty and the Art of the Medallist," *The Studio* 7 (1896): 162.

3. Rose G. Kingsley, *History of French Art, 1100–1899* (London: Longmans, Green, 1899), 492.

4. George Frederick Kunz, "The Late Oscar Roty: His Life and His Influence on the Past and Future of Medallion Art," *American Journal of Numismatics* 47 (1913), 93–119.

5. Joseph Verner Reed to A. Hyatt Mayor, January 23, 1958.



Fig. 1: France. AR Franc, 1898, by Louis-Oscar Roty. (ANS 0000.999.37070). 23 mm. Roty's familiar creation La Semeuse (The Sower) debuted on French coins in 1897 and is still used today, in altered form, on the euro.



Fig. 2 France. Marie Augustine Roty. Bronze plaquette, by Louis-Oscar Roty, 1880. (ANS 1959.148.75, gift of Georges Roty). 145 × 105 mm. Roty's Latin inscription is a personal one: "My dearest wife, I have engraved the features of your face in bronze, so that I shall always have you before my eyes, ever young and happy."



Fig. 3: This sketch, one of a group of Roty drawings in the ANS Archives, was most likely made during the preparation of his Joan of Arc medal.

Fig. 4: France. Joan of Arc. Bronze medal, by Louis-Oscar Roty, 1896. (ANS 1959.148.105, gift of Georges Roty). 44 mm. George Frederick Kunz felt that "the slight and plainly-garbed figure of the Maid, listening with rapt attention to the words of the Archangel Michael, is a most beautiful example of the grace and tenderness he was able to put into his creations."



ANS's neighbor at Audubon Terrace, having assumed the role following the death of his uncle, Archer Huntington. Thus the ANS's chief curator, George Miles, caught wind of the offer and enthusiastically began corresponding with Georges Roty, the two quickly arranging the gift. Complications arose over the shipment, however. Reed had devised a scheme to avoid customs duties by sending the packages with a colleague traveling under diplomatic credentials. When questioned by a customs officer, the flummoxed courier was forced to confess that he was unsure what was contained in the packages, and then scurried off without them, to Reed's great annoyance.⁶ "What is simpler than to walk in with something perfectly bona-fide, especially when one is armed with a diplomatic passport?" he asked in exasperation. Reed then proposed various other diplomatic solutions, and even offered to pay the duty himself. But Miles declined, happily paid up, and the ANS received the collection.⁷

It now appears that a previous effort, some fifty years earlier, to obtain Roty works for the ANS had gone off even less smoothly. According to an item in *American Art News* at the time, Archer Huntington had purchased "a medallion and twenty designs" that he had seen exhibited in Brussels in 1910, at yet another of the big international medal exhibitions that then seemed to be occurring every few years. Placing a deposit on the lot, he promised them all to the ANS. Roty's wife Marie (fig. 2) objected to the terms of the sale, however, and filed a lawsuit to prevent delivery. She won the case, and the materials were to be returned to her.⁸ Huntington and Mme. Roty may have reached an agreement, however, as it was later reported in the Society's Proceedings of 1911 that the ANS did receive ten (though not twenty) Roty drawings. There is evidence that once the drawings were in New York, Huntington took an active interest in them. "I have hung the Roty drawings in the way you suggested," ANS secretary Bauman Belden reported to him, "and they look very well."⁹ In his lengthy tribute to Roty, published in 1913, Kunz also mentions these "ten magnificent drawings" held by the ANS.¹⁰ This is, however, the last reference to them so far uncovered in the historical record. The current whereabouts of these ten sketches is unknown.

The ANS does have some of the artist's sketches that came as part of the Georges Roty donation of 1959 (figs. 3–17). This has caused some confusion. Because there are ten sheets of paper (which contain eleven principal drawings and some secondary sketches on their reverses), it is easy to mistake these for the ones Huntington bought in Brussels. They are demonstrably not the same ones, however, because four of the drawings that Huntington bought are shown in the published catalog of

the Brussels show, and none of those are found among those of the 1959 donation.¹¹ It is possible, however, that the drawings bought by Huntington, along with those donated by Georges Roty, could together be the "twenty designs" referred to in the *American Art News* article about the lawsuit.

When considering an art form that is centuries old, one does not expect to find a precise turning point associated with a particular artist, but Roty is celebrated for a very specific development in the history of the medallic arts. He is credited with taking the moribund form of the rectangular plaquette and combining it with accepted ideas about the medal to create something new. The simplest illustration of this may have come from Roty himself, who, it was said, told of how late one night a powerful idea came to him that he felt certain would pave a path to fame and fortune. He woke his wife to tell her the news. Instead of making round medals like everyone else, he explained, I'll make them rectangular! This notion was said to be so radically new and inconceivable she was struck dumb with incomprehension.¹² The rectangular plaquettes of the Renaissance were well known, but those mostly had been one-sided and decorative, often so they could be affixed to other objects. The first of Roty's rectangular plaquettes, in 1879,¹³ were also one-sided, but he would later make them more like traditional medals, using both sides and having them commemorate events, for example. As he had predicted, the new form was an immediate hit, and commissions poured in.¹⁴ By the end of Roty's life, two-sided rectangular medals, a concept that was said to have so shocked his wife, were commonplace.¹⁵

Medal historian Mark Jones suggests that Roty's academic work during his formative years as a painter, which generally calls for the filling of rectangular space, led to his innovations with the plaquette.¹⁶ Though apprenticed as a young child to an engraver,

6. W.E. Weld to the American Numismatic Society June 1959.

7. Joseph Verner Reed to George Miles, July 20, 1959.

8. "An Art Law Suit," *American Art News* 10, no. 10 (December 16, 1911), 1.

9. Bauman Belden to Archer Huntington, September 14, 1912.

10. Kunz, "Late Oscar Roty," 109.

11. Fernand Mazerolle, *Les Médailleurs Français à l'Exposition Internationale de Bruxelles en 1910* (Paris: Les ateliers photomécaniques D.A. Longuet, 1910), plates 26–29.

12. Philip Attwood, "Promoting the Medal in France, 1889–1939," *The Medal* 44 (Spring 2004): 37–38.

13. Kunz, "Late Oscar Roty," 111.

14. Nicolas Maier, *French Medallic Art, 1870–1940* (Munich: Nicolas Maier, 2010), 163.

15. Mark Jones, *The Art of the Medal* (London: British Museum, 1979), 122.

16. Ibid.



Fig. 5: Preparatory sketch for Roty's Rouen Colonial Exposition medal.



Fig. 6: Obverse of Roty's medal for the 1896 Colonial Exposition held in Rouen, France. (Photograph courtesy Roi.dagobert, Wikimedia Commons.)



Fig. 7: Details similar to those sketched here can be seen in Roty's first and second marriage medals.



Fig. 8: France. Marriage. Silver medal, by Louis-Oscar Roty, 1895. (ANS 1959.148.114, gift of Georges Roty). 41 mm. The first of Roty's two marriage medals, which included space on the reverse for the couple's personal inscription. Roty always regretted selling, for a single small payment, the issuing rights for this medal to the French government as it proved to be a big seller. Kunz called it the "the finest of all his works."



Fig. 9: France. Marriage. Silver Medal, by Louis-Oscar Roty, 1897. (ANS 1959.148.122, gift of Georges Roty). 36 mm. Most likely made to compensate for the earnings he missed out on with the first marriage medal, Roty made this one to sell himself. It "partly lacks the true spirit of the first medal," concluded Kunz.



Fig. 10: Sketched detail from Roty's Angelo Mariani medal.



Fig. 11: France. Vin Mariani. Silver plaque, by Louis-Oscar Roty, 1895. (ANS 1959.148.69, gift of Georges Roty). 52 × 38 mm. Beginning in the 1860s, French chemist Angelo Mariani found great international success peddling his combination health tonic and table wine, Vin Mariani, marketed with testimonials from celebrities as diverse as Buffalo Bill Cody and Queen Victoria. A mixture of Bordeaux and coca leaves, the enormous popularity of the concoction could possibly be attributed to the six milligrams of cocaine found in each fluid ounce.

his academic study in the École des Arts Décoratifs had been in drawing and painting, and that seemed to be the direction he was heading artistically, until, as Kunz tells it, fate intervened. Accepted into the École des Beaux Arts in 1864, his mother had given him twenty francs to buy supplies for his painting course, which he promptly lost. So he instead wandered into the studio of sculptor Augustin-Alexandre Dumont, made himself at home there from that day forward, and fully abandoned painting for sculpting.¹⁷ As a sculptor, Roty worked almost exclusively in relief, most notably producing medals and coins. But he also did fine work with decorative objects—bracelets, brooches, flatware, bookmarks, comb tops, mirror backs, and cups.¹⁸ He so valued his metal work over any other kind that, if Kunz is to be believed, we are lucky to have any of his sketches survive at all. As he tells it, when Roty was offered a high price for a sketch of his *Shepherdess* (fig. 18) and realized that the sum was more than the plaque itself would fetch, he removed all temptation by shredding the design, muttering to himself, “you wish to be a medalist and nothing else.”¹⁹

Roty's early training as a painter is also sometimes seen as the source of his masterful talent for producing picturesque compositions, a quality much celebrated in his work (fig. 19). This painterly approach, however, is also the most common target of the few criticisms one finds of his work, that it leaned at times toward the fussy or cloying. Kunz took a moment during his mostly laudatory comments about the artist to suggest that “some may find that the pictorial element is sometimes rendered unduly prominent in his work.” Kunz himself found that “his love of pictorial beauty sometimes led him to overcharge his work a little with details, producing a beautiful picture, indeed, but not perhaps a classically perfect medal.”²⁰ ANS curator Agnes Baldwin felt that Roty “brought into the art of the medal a

17. Kunz, “Late Oscar Roty,” 93.

18. Jones, 124; Roger Marx, “The Latest Evolution of the Medal in France,” *The International Studio* 16, no. 61 (March 1902), 23; Roger Marx, “The Renaissance of the Medal in France,” *The Studio* 15 (1899), 22.

19. Kunz, “Late Oscar Roty,” 95–96.

20. *Ibid.*, 95, 99.



Fig. 12: Preparatory sketch, possibly for Roty's Gustave Adolphe Hirn medal.



Fig. 13: Reverse of Roty's medal honoring Gustave Adolphe Hirn, Physicist, 1889. (Photograph from the Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Contemporary Medals, March, 1910.)

personal note of deeply felt and familiar poesy, the grace of which sometimes borders upon affectation.”²¹ These stray comments aside, it was precisely this grace, delicacy, and light touch—“a magical fineness of workmanship”²²—that were most appreciated in his work. To his contemporaries, such qualities suggested only one thing. There was “considerable femininity in its make-up,” said fellow medalist Hermon MacNeil, neatly summing up the common opinion.²³ (Though it was “never effeminate,” another felt the need to point out).²⁴ It was not just stylistically, but also in subject matter—such as the lovely reverse of the Morel medal, with its central female figure enjoying fragrant tree blossoms amidst the perched birds—where this was recognized (fig. 20). “His whole work proclaims and sings the beauty of womanhood,” wrote Roger Marx, the academic art critic who himself played a central role in the flowering of the medallic arts in Roty’s day. He especially singled out Roty’s exquisite work with draped fabric on the female form, the subject of most of the sketches in the ANS Archives collection (fig. 21).²⁵ As Marx also pointed out, the decorative objects and jewelry designed by Roty were intended for use by women. “Again and again,” he wrote in reference to such works, “to the delight of womankind, he has revived

the smiling graces of the eighteenth century.”²⁶ For all of the credit Roty gets for his finely detailed compositions, it was a machine-age invention that made them possible. The early use and development in France of the pantographic reducing machine, employed in the Paris state mint as early as 1780, was one of the principal causes of the flourishing of the medallic arts in that country.²⁷ Its introduction meant that any artist who could sculpt a model in wax, or any other soft material, could then employ the machine to produce a much smaller die. According to Baldwin, “Roty himself declared that he had never gone through the severe training of engraving the die, and could not have executed any of his medals

21. Agnes Baldwin, *Catalog of the International Exhibition of Contemporary Medals, March, 1910* (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1911), 50.

22. Frank Jewett Mather, in Kunz, “Late Oscar Roty,” 108.

23. Hermon MacNeil, in Kunz, “Late Oscar Roty,” 107.

24. Marion Harry Alexander Spielmann, “The Medal,” *Encyclopedia Britannica* 11th ed. (New York: Encyclopedia Britannica Company, 1911), 2.

25. Marx, “Renaissance,” 20.

26. Marx, “Latest Evolution,” 23.

27. Attwood, 38–40.



Fig. 14: This quickly drawn outline of the reverse of Roty's Engel medal is found on the back of one of the artist's more careful studies.



Fig. 16: Preliminary sketches for the obverse of Roty's Christofle medal.



Fig. 15: France. Twenty-fifth Anniversary of Alfred Engel and Catherine Emilie Koechlin. Silver plaquette, by Louis-Oscar Roty, 1899, reverse only. (ANS 1959.148.95, gift of Georges Roty). 81 x 58 mm. A draped figure of mourning might seem like an odd choice for a medal honoring a marriage anniversary, but it marked the bitter moment in the Engels' lives when they were forced to leave their native city of Mulhouse in Alsace, shown in the distance. Mulhouse was captured by the Germans during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 and its inhabitants were given a deadline of October 31, 1872 (the date shown on the medal) to choose between German citizenship and exile.



Fig. 17: France. Semi-centenary of the founding of the house of Christofle. Gold plate plaquette, by Louis-Oscar Roty, 1893. (ANS 1959.148.49, gift of Georges Roty). 95 x 60 mm (images reduced). Roty also designed flatware for the renowned French producer of fine silver house wares. The artist himself can be found on the medal's reverse. He's the craftsman on the right doing the chasing work. (Maier, *French Medallist Art*, 169).

without the reducing-machine.”²⁸ Though delicacy is the feature most recognized in Roty’s work, U.S. Mint curator T. Louis Comparette saw instead a “largeness of style,” specifically citing a Roty design first used on Chile’s peso in 1895²⁹ as a particularly “powerful piece of work” (fig. 22).³⁰ Roty also designed centimes for Haiti (1881) (fig. 23),³¹ a gold 100-franc for Monaco (1891) (fig. 24),³² and was commissioned to design a military medal for participants in France’s second Madagascar campaign of 1894–95 (fig. 25).

Proving that there is always something left to discover in the deepest recesses of the ANS, last summer the ANS’s newest curator, Matthew Wittmann, was organizing some bank notes in the vault when he came upon some stray letters, mostly having to do with church-issued notes, commercial scrip, and the like. Tucked in among the stray papers, it turned out, was one item of particular interest. It was a letter written to Roty by the sculptor Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi (another artist whose most famous work, a colossal figure raising her beacon in the New York City harbor, is known throughout the world, while the artist’s name is unfamiliar to most). The letter was written on July 16, 1887, nine months after the unveiling of his *Liberty Enlightening the World*. In it, Bartholdi seeks Roty’s approval for one of nine suggested quotations, mostly words honoring French and American relations, which were to be used as an inscription on a medal Roty was designing to commemorate the event. One of the quotations seems somewhat out of place as it applies more to the sculptor than to the friendship between the two countries. But the words—“Form to the sculptor is all and yet nothing. It is nothing without the spirit; with the idea it is everything”³³—were special to Bartholdi. The dying Victor Hugo, who had lavished praise on the statue and the ideas it embodied after seeing it exhibited in Paris in 1884, had scribbled them on a note to Bartholdi on May 13, 1885, nine days before the author’s death. Bartholdi had the note reproduced in a book he had written to generate funds for the statue’s pedestal, with the suggestion that “they were probably the last words ever written by the greatest man-of-letters of his age.”³⁴ Hugo had hoped that a different quotation, words he had spoken during his tour of the stature the previous year, would be used on the statue’s base. In the end, Hugo’s words would appear on neither the statue nor the medal (fig. 26).³⁵

Another letter in the ANS Archives documents a different medal with an American theme. In it the granddaughter of the great inventor and industrialist Peter Cooper recounted to Kunz how she had accompanied her mother, Sarah Amelia Hewitt, on the elderly woman’s final trip to Paris, where she wanted to visit

Roty and personally commission a medal honoring her father and commemorating the 50th anniversary of the school he had founded in New York City, The Peter Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art (Cooper Union). She met with the artist several times, showing him pictures of the great man’s head in various poses as well as photographs she arranged to have made of the school’s Foundation Building. This still-extant building made history in 1860, the year after it opened, when presidential candidate Abraham Lincoln delivered a speech on slavery in its Great Hall. (Less famously, the building served in 1859 as a meeting place for a certain fledgling association of coin collectors that had met for the very first time just the previous year in the home of sixteen-year-old Augustus B. Sage.)³⁶ Roty was said to have taken great inspiration for the portrait from the “expression & brilliancy” of Peter Cooper’s daughter’s eyes, the women telling him that they matched the character and expression of her father.³⁷ From 1909 to 1962, the school gave copies of the medal to graduates along with their diplomas (fig. 27).³⁸

We have arrived at that moment, inevitable in any survey of a life of great accomplishment, where one feels obliged to tally up honors, appointments, commendations, acclamations, tributes, awards, and accolades, the resulting list failing utterly to convey the true significance of the achievements. So let us just acknowledge that Roty’s resume was indeed impressive, and instead pause for just a moment to consider one particularly remarkable triumph, his winning of the Grand Prix de Rome in 1875. By the time Roty won it, the prize had been coveted by generations of artists. A century earlier, the neoclassicist painter Jacques-Louis David, having failed in his first two attempts to win the Grand Prix, is said to have attempted suicide.³⁹ (Though his method,

28. Baldwin, Catalogue, xx.

29. Cuhaj, George S., and Freeman Craig, *Standard Catalog of World Coins, 1801–1900* 7th ed. (Iola, WI: Krause Publications, 2012): 183.

30. T. Louis Comparette, in Kunz, “Late Oscar Roty,” 108–109.

31. Cuhaj and Freeman, 579.

32. Cuhaj and Freeman, 954.

33. “La forme au statuaire c’est tout, et ce n’est rien; ce n’est rien sans l’esprit, c’est tout avec l’idée.”

34. Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi, *The Statue of Liberty Enlightening the World* (New York: North American Review, 1885).

35. Elizabeth Mitchell, *Liberty’s Torch: The Great Adventure to Build the Statue of Liberty* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2014): 186.

36. William Weeks, “History of the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society,” in *ANS Proceedings* 1892, 4.

37. Sarah Cooper Hewitt to George Frederick Kunz, April 15, 1911.

38. “Cooper Union Graduation Medallions,” *Cooper Union Alumni Newsletter* (May 2013).

39. Robert Rosenblum, “David and Vien: Master/Pupil, Father/Son,” in *Jacques-Louis David: New Perspectives*, Jacques Louis David and Dorothy Johnson, eds., (Newark, Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 2006), 45.



Fig. 18: Roty's *Shepherdess*, 1888. Kunz says Roty destroyed a preliminary drawing for this plaque when he realized it would sell for more than the piece itself. (Photograph from L. Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary of Medalists*.)



Fig. 20: France. Morel twenty-fifth anniversary. Silver plaque, by Louis Oscar Roty, 1901. (1959.148.156). 150 × 127 mm. Roty's work was said to be feminine in style, a quality also seen in his themes, as shown in this medal's reverse.



Fig. 19: France. French Exposition at Moscow. Silver medal (two pieces), by Louis-Oscar Roty, 1892. (1959.148.18 and 1959.148.19, gift of Georges Roty). 63 mm (images reduced). The dynamic obverse, showing a crowned allegorical female representation of Moscow welcoming the French "genie," with the real city seen in the distance, is a typically masterful Roty composition. The medal commemorates an 1891 exposition of French exhibitors in Moscow, an event meant to strengthen France and Russia's alliance against their German and Austro-Hungarian adversaries.



Fig. 21: "M. Roty has rejuvenated the art of antique drapery, and has derived therefrom many exquisite effects," wrote the medallic art critic Roger Marx. "These garments, flowing in harmonious folds, have been compared to those seen in Grecian statuary and in the coroplastes of Tanagra" (Marx, "Renaissance," 20). Most of the Roty drawings in the ANS Archives are studies of draped fabric on the female form.



Fig. 22: Chile. AR peso, 1896, by Louis-Oscar Roty. (ANS 1947.47.498, purchase). 35 mm. “Defiant Condor on Rock” is how the *Standard Catalog of World Coins* describes the obverse.



Fig. 24: Monaco. AV 100 franc, 1896, by Louis-Oscar Roty. (ANS 1937.146.2603, gift of Herbert Scoville). 35 mm.



Fig. 23: Haiti. AE centime, 1881, by Louis-Oscar Roty and Louis-Edmond Laforesterie. (ANS 1913.130.159, gift of Howland Wood). 25 mm.

starvation, abandoned after two days, does suggest a certain lack of resolve.) The prize had its roots in the seventeenth-century France, in awards given out by the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in 1663. The Rome connection came a few years later with the establishment in 1666 of an Académie de France à Rome, where students were sent to make copies of classical and Renaissance works for the French royal palaces.⁴⁰ There were, initially, prizes in two disciplines, painting and sculpture. A third category, architecture, was added in 1720. The prestige of the Grand Prix de Rome ebbed and flowed with the shifting of power and levels of artistic talent, but reached a climax in the years following the Revolution, when the Académie was abolished and administration of the prize was taken up by the Institut de France and the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. New categories were added in 1803: music and, in a significant development for the renaissance in medallic arts later that century, engraving. In the twentieth century, the prize gradually lost its luster and was abolished altogether in 1968, a year in France that saw much breaking with the past. The competition was arduous for the coveted prize, which provided a grant for three years of study at Villa Medici in Rome and a chance to mingle there and make lasting friendships with the artistic upper echelon of various artistic disciplines.⁴¹ Challengers were assigned mostly allegorical or classical subjects and faced elimination over the course of months in successive rounds of sketching, model sculpting, and steel die engraving.⁴² Roty won for his design of a shepherd reading an inscription at the Pass of Thermopylae (fig. 28). Besides the practical benefit of

having his living expenses covered for three years, the rewards in terms of recognition and prestige were enormous, opening doors to countless commissions. The two engravers selected along with Roty for the redesign of French coinage in the 1890s, for example, were also Grand Prix winners, Jules Clément Chaplain (1863) and Jean-Baptiste Daniel-Dupuis (1872).

Roty enjoyed great success during his lifetime. As Kunz tells us, he “was favored by kings, by governments, and by the wealthiest men of his time.”⁴³ In 1882 he was paid 300 francs for a portrait medal but by the end of his career was turning down commissions of over 20,000 francs.⁴⁴ And he loved what he did. “Roty was likely to work any hour of the twenty-four,” wrote Kunz, who remembered the artist “bent lovingly over the model which he was forming into an object of beauty.” But it was taxing, and he pushed himself hard. He felt a relentless drive to provide for his family, he told Kunz, and thought that led directly to a decline in health that prevented him from producing work during the final six years or so of his life. By 1901, Roty was suffering from arteriosclerosis.⁴⁵ He died at the age of 64.

40. Simon Lee, “Prix de Rome,” *Dictionary of Art* (London: Macmillan: 1996), 637–638.

41. Susanne Anderson-Reidel, *Creativity and Reproduction: Nineteenth Century Engraving and the Academy* (Newcastle upon Tyne : Cambridge Scholars, 2010), 119.

42. Attwood, 36–37.

43. Kunz, “Late Oscar Roty,” 99.

44. Maier, *French Medallic Art*, 163.

45. Kunz, “Late Oscar Roty,” 95–100.



Fig. 25: France. Madagascar campaign. Silver medal, by Louis-Oscar Roty, 1896. (1959.148.152, gift of Georges Roty). 30 mm. Commemorative medal given to participants in the second Madagascar expedition, 1894–95, in which France conquered the Merina Kingdom, rulers of the island nation.



Fig. 26: France. Franco-American Union. Silver medal (two pieces), by Louis-Oscar Roty, 1887. (1959.148.85 and 1959.148.86, gift of Georges Roty). 70 mm images reduced). A recently discovered letter in the ANS vault shows that sculptor Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi gave Roty a choice of nine different quotations for possible use on this medal commemorating the completion of the Statue of Liberty, all but one attributed to well-known French figures. In the end, unattributed (and uninspiring) words that translate as “Monument Erected by France and America in Memory of Their Old Friendship” were used on the medal.



Fig. 27: United States. Peter Cooper and Cooper Union. Silver medal, 1907, first issued 1909. (1959.148.17, gift of Georges Roty). 68 mm (images reduced). A letter in the ANS Archives tells how Peter Cooper’s daughter traveled to Paris to meet with Roty personally when commissioning this medal, which was for years given to graduates of Cooper Union in New York City. In 1859, the American Numismatic Society, formed just the previous year, met in the then brand new building shown on the obverse.



Fig. 28: Roty’s winning design for the Grand Prix de Rome in 1875 was this shepherd reading an inscription at the Pass of Thermopylae, first in wax, later engraved. (Photograph courtesy Roi.dagobert, Wikimedia Commons.)



THE RECIDIVIST COLLECTOR: The 2014 Sylvia Mani Hurter Lecture

John W. Adams

Editor's note: The presentation of the Archer Huntington Medal to John W. Adams on April 26, 2014, took place at the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston, hosted by curator Anne Bentley, who also prepared an exhibit of related material including the famous Washington-Webster set of Comitia Americana medals. After receiving the Medal, Mr. Adams gave the following overview of his most notable accomplishments as a collector and scholar to the family and friends who had assembled for the occasion.

The mission of the American Numismatic Society is to be a museum and research institute for the study of coins. Its interest spans all countries of the world and all periods, from ancient Greece and Rome through medieval times, through the Renaissance, and on up to modern times. In support of its mission it has the finest numismatic library in the world and one of the finest numismatic collections. For a scholar, any recognition by the American Numismatic Society is a signal honor. To receive the Society's highest award, the Archer Huntington medal, is beyond honor—in the vernacular, it is off the chart. I am flattered beyond measure; I am humbled. Indeed, as I stand here pinching myself, I am actually uncomprehending: the Huntington is invariably given to older people, and I am far too young.

This is a wonderful turnout... Whereas many of you have come out of loyalty to the ANS, I have stacked the deck by holding the event here in Boston. Thus, most of you are here out of loyalty to me, Regina, and the Adams family. You have sacrificed your time and, for those from great distances, your treasure. We are deeply moved and grateful to the very depths of our souls. You have created for us an occasion that we will never forget.

Special mention must be made of two Gangs of Four to which I belong—one devoted to the collecting of historical medals and one to the collecting of numismatic books. These two gangs, each of which has morphed into a Gang of Five, are my closest numismatic buddies—my partners in crime. If you do the math, there are eight gang members other than myself. The Medal Gang is composed of Barry Tayman from Maryland, Tony Lopez from California, Warren Baker from Montreal, and Skyler Liechty from Texas. The Numismatic Book Gang boasts as members Joel Orosz from Michigan, George Kolbe from California, David Fanning from Ohio, and Len Augsburg from Illinois. Despite this great geographic dispersion, all eight of the eight are here today. To say that Regina and I are overwhelmed is material understatement. In a world filled with the wrong kind of gangs, it is a special blessing to be associated with two gangs that are on the side of the angels. We can never repay you for going all those extra miles, but know well that your example inspires everyone in this room and that it will inspire many more as the story is told.

Non-numismatists must wonder what in the wide, wide world creates such strong bonds as to bring this diverse group—even more diverse in personality than in geography—all together at this place and this time. There is something special about numismatics—something so compellingly attracting that were I able to explain it and then induce you into our little group, we would all get arrested on presumed substance abuse. Or consider the words of Dr. William Sheldon: “You may or may not get back what you spend on coins but, in any event, it will prove cheaper than a mistress or a race horse.”

The ANS asked for a title for my talk, so I gave them the first thing that came into my mind—“The Recidivist

Collector". Granted that I must shoulder the blame for being a recidivist, but what got me into trouble in the first place was not me. It was my mother. She bought me one of those Lincoln penny albums with holes to be filled for each date and each mint mark. Later, she would say that she did it to keep me from spending money on my friends, but given that I didn't have any money, I think it was done with malice aforethought. Mother had a great eye for hidden values—she haunted the country antique stores—and she probably wanted to encourage the same curiosity about things in me.

The Recidivist's Collections

Collection 1. Aged 9 or 10 and armed with my Lincoln cent album, I began to pester everyone who came near the house to see their pocket change, followed then by regular trips to the bank. Our country bank was really friendly and allowed me to pore over rolls of pennies. When I had measles, chicken pox, or general boredom, my mother would lug a satchel back and forth to the bank and I would continue my quest for the 1914-D.

After a while, as my Lincoln cents filled in, I bought an Indian cent album—these were the pennies made from 1858 to 1909 before the Lincoln cent was introduced—and although there were not then many Indian Head cents left in circulation, David Bullowa, a dealer located in Philadelphia just a 40-minute train ride away, sold them for \$2 per hundred. After several such purchases by me, Mr. Bullowa said, "Son, you are doing it all wrong. You don't want to collect quantity; you want to collect quality." "What is quality?" said I. "These," he said, as he showed me two 1858 Flying Eagle cents in proof, with large and small motto. The problem was the price: \$92.50 for the pair. The coins were hauntingly beautiful, but I didn't have the money. My new mentor said, "That's OK, I will set them aside for when you do." A year later I walked back into his shop and, without saying a word, he went to his safe and pulled out the two pieces in question. I paid him, but on the train ride home, I felt that I might have been suckered—after all, \$92.50 was \$92.48 more than face value. Whatever, I had crossed the divide: I was now committed to paying premiums—often large premiums—for coins. Also, I was headed toward a complete run of Flying Eagle and Indian Head cents in proof, the highest possible condition. I never got there, but I did assemble a lovely group of regular issues and proofs plus all twelve pattern cents that the Mint issued in 1858, as different designs for the new cent were being considered. This collection stayed dormant through my college years—years of minimal cash flow—but then, after a brief stint in the Army, my collection became the down payment on a graduate degree in business.

Collection 2. In the late 1960s, business brought me to New York City on a regular basis. On one trip, on a whim, I looked up coin dealers in Manhattan, with the closest to my hotel being Lester Merkin. Entering his shop, I met the man—an ex-saxophonist turned professional coin dealer—and explained to him where I was on my pilgrimage: I needed a new mountain to climb, and he suggested type collecting as something that would really broaden my knowledge of the hobby. After purchasing an 1870-CC half dollar in mint condition, I was off and running, but as matters turned out, I didn't run very far. In one of his myriad publications, Dave Bowers extolled the allure of large cents and the particular virtues of its specialty club, Early American Coppers. Large cents—large because they are about the size of a quarter—were issued from 1793 to 1857, when the cent was reduced to the token size that we have today. In any event, I joined EAC, the large-cent mavens, due to the interest Dave had aroused.

Collection 3. Large cents and the Early American Coppers Club offered me a new dimension in collecting—the social dimension. Previously I had operated as a lone wolf, but now it was altogether different. Meeting, corresponding, and chatting with peers opened up for me new vistas on the hobby. With hundreds of peers and with over 300 varieties of early-date large cents, I had to start somewhere and that somewhere was to be the year 1794, which was particularly rich in distinctive varieties—some sixty in all. Coming to realize that the people were as important as the coins, I gravitated to people of the past—the collectors and dealers who had passed along to the modern generation their knowledge and their excitement. Researching and writing about these personalities suggested to me what was then an original insight: provenance (who owned the coin before) was important and, indeed, rather than collect the sixty varieties of 1794 large cents by variety or by condition, which is the way it had always been done, why not collect by provenance—i.e., develop a list of the most important collectors of 1794 cents over the years, along with a list of those pieces used to illustrate the early reference works, and make these names and images the targets of my collecting. Although there was a crowd of people who were interested in 1794 large cents, no one was collecting the collectors—people like Edward Maris, Mortimer Mackenzie, Lorin Parmelee, and George Clapp. As a further refinement, I added the plate coins from those books dedicated to the varieties of 1794, notably Frossard/Hays (1893) and S. H. Chapman (1926). No one was collecting these plate coins either. Because I made up the rules for my own game, there was no competition for the targets I had set. As a result, I succeeded beyond the dreams of avarice, notching every collector on my list and amassing all but a



Fig. 1: ANS Chairman of the Board of Trustees Kenneth L. Edlow presenting the Huntington Medal to the author, April 26, 2014.



Fig. 2: The author's mother as a "Gray Lady" volunteer at Valley Forge Military Hospital, c. 1944.



Fig. 3 (left): The author, seen here with his sister, a few years before he began collecting.



Fig. 4 (right): David and Catherine Bullowa, c. 1953 (ANS Archives, gift of Catherine Bullowa-Moore).

Fig. 5 (left): Lester Merkin, c. 1988. From M. Van Winkle, "An Interview with Lester Merkin," Legacy 2 no. 1 (Spring 1989), p. 23; image courtesy of Heritage Auctions (ha.com).

Fig. 6 (right): Q. David Bowers (center) with Regina Adams and Wynn Bowers, at the Huntington Medal presentation on April 26, 2014.



handful of the Hays and Chapman plate coins that were not locked away in institutions.

For a collector, having nothing left to collect is a big problem. I lusted for the half-dozen targeted pieces that I did not own, but realistically it was going to take me a long time to acquire them, with long periods of inaction in between. After a dozen years of frantic effort it was 1982 and time to sell the collection whilst, at the same time, telling my fellow numismatists why what I had accomplished was important. There is no better storyteller than Q. David Bowers, easily the most revered figure in American numismatics, who put together a handsome fixed-price list that displayed the coins to full advantage while explaining underlying themes with great clarity. The commercial aspect of the offering was successful and, far more important to me, the ideas caught on. Today, the torch is being carried by a band of zealots who call themselves The Boys of '94. The Boys have taken my enthusiasm for 1794 large cents to new heights. For their part, the major auction houses now expend painstaking effort to list the prior ownership of large cents, proving that provenance does indeed sell. A coin that I might have sold for \$1000 in 1982 now sells for \$15,000–20,000. The point is not the money—all coins have risen in value over the last thirty years—the point is that the history of the collectors turns out to be as compelling to numismatists as the history of what is being collected. Just as we Gang members are bonded to each other, we also feel bonds to collectors of the past: they have passed along the very coins we are now handling. In a phrase, we have roots.

Collection 4. Having accomplished the mission, one would think that it was time to take stock. However, the recidivist collector does not believe in taking stock, as long as there are mountains to be climbed. My next mountain was brought to me by my good friend John J. Ford, Jr., who happened to have for sale a large collection of “Betts” medals. These are named after C. Wyllys Betts, the author of *American Colonial History Illustrated by Contemporary Medals*, published in 1893. Betts listed no less than 623 historical medals that had to do with the exploration and settlement of the Western Hemisphere. This extensive corpus spans more than two centuries—from the Novi Orbis (New World) medals of Philip II of Spain dated 1556 to medals commemorating the Peace of Paris in 1783—and its study entails a working knowledge of Latin, Spanish, and French as well as English. This is a truly daunting series: there are many numismatists who collect part of it but very few who collect it all. In point of fact, in 1982 there were only five full-scale collectors of Betts medals. Today there is but one—me—with two of the five having passed on and with the remaining two also hav-

ing passed on, but not before their holdings had been bought out by me. This is not to say that I have become lonely: all of the Betts numbers are collected; it is just that they are collected as sub-series. I will come back to some of these specialties in a moment.

Collection 5. It has been said that one should buy the book before the coin. This struck me as good advice and, always the recidivist collector, I am surrounded with more books today than Betts medals—many more. Regina helped by building me a library, and now I have three. Physical space and shelving helps with storing the books, but it does nothing to store the knowledge contained therein. This irony stuck me as I filled shelf after shelf—if I were the only person to be familiar with the contents of these books, then this knowledge would be ephemeral indeed. This conundrum turned over and over in my mind until the bulb lit. Here was a genome that needed to be mapped.

Collections Beget Books

Collecting is a natural precursor to writing because, with a good collection at hand, one can begin a study that will lead in time to the accumulation of enough knowledge to justify a book. My book writing—there have been six in all—began with the burgeoning numismatic library. It was this library, by the way, that enabled me to trace the ownership of large cents back in time so that, quite often, I alone knew what famous collectors had owned it. This was the fortuitous equivalent of inside information.

Book 1 (1982). George Kolbe, who was to become the greatest numismatic book dealer of all time (and who, incidentally, is a Gang member), started to do book auctions in 1974. It was about this time that I began to plan how to address all that knowledge that was sitting on my bookshelves. The result was *United States Numismatic Literature, Volume I*, which came out in 1982 with—no coincidence—George as my publisher. Somewhat analogous to a penny board, the book ordered the emissions of various nineteenth-century cataloguers, adding biographical and bibliophilic data and, most important, describing the quality of the contents, from A+ to C–, as it pertained to 26 specialties within numismatics. Thus, a collector of the catalogues of William Woodward (of Roxbury, Massachusetts) would know how many there were to collect: 108 numbered and 3 unnumbered, and would also know which ones had plates and special editions. A collector of colonial coins, to take one of the 26 subjects tracked, would know which Woodward catalogues had content relevant to his or her specialty and therefore which parts of Woodward’s voluminous output needed to be parsed. Although the biographies are the most widely quoted aspect of the book, it is the grading of content that has



Fig. 7: Large cent, 1794 Starred Reverse (Sheldon 48). Formerly in the John W. Adams collection 1972–82, re-sold by Heritage, February 15, 2008, lot 2050. (Images courtesy of Heritage Auctions [ha.com]).



Fig. 8: Silver medal of the Tuesday Club, a social club for gentlemen in eighteenth-century Annapolis, c. 1750 (Betts 383). From the John W. Adams collection, sold by Heritage, January 8, 2014, lot 3062. (Images courtesy of Heritage Auctions [ha.com]).

provided the most utility. The hundreds of hours of intensive effort on my part have, hopefully, saved thousands of hours for those doing research.

The book served these purposes admirably, and has also done its part in making numismatic bibliophilia not a dreaded disease but, rather, an enthusiastic sub-culture. Thirty years ago, the book enthusiasts banded together and formed the Numismatic Bibliomania Society, which has since grown to 350 bibliomaniacs. It is difficult to describe the essence of book collecting or why we are consumed by it, but we can do it—just ask us at the social hour.

Book 2 (1990). Putting “Volume I” in a book’s title necessitated that there be a Volume II. Some eight years later, *United States Numismatic Literature*, Volume II did for the twentieth century what its predecessor had done for the nineteenth. The genomes of both centuries are now duly mapped, with both books enjoying regular usage by collector and dealer alike. Be it said that, whereas Volume I was a work of passion, Volume II was more a work of duty. Modern auctioneers do a good job of archiving their catalogues, added to which powerful

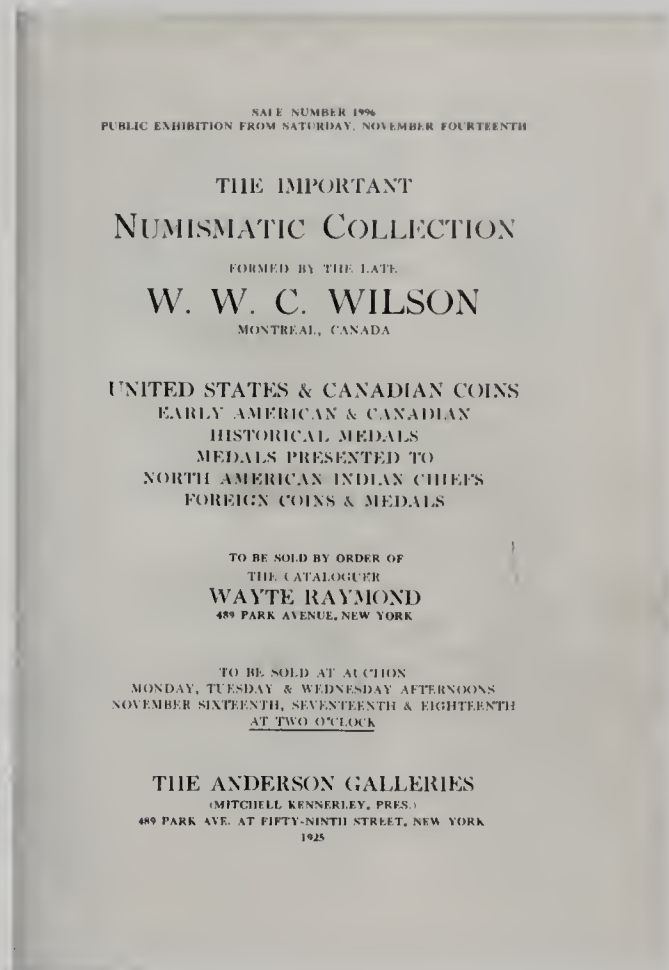


Fig. 9: Title page of the catalogue for the sale of the W. W. C. Wilson collection in 1925. One of the greatest sales of North American historical medals, Wayte Raymond’s catalogue is notable for the breadth of knowledge displayed in handling the intricacies of such rare material; see J. W. Adams, *United States Numismatic Literature*, vol. II (Crestline, Calif.: George Frederick Kolbe, 1990), pp. 75, 77.

new databases are being built, such that a Volume III may never be necessary.

Book 3 (1999). Parents are not supposed to have a favorite child, but I do have a favorite among my books, the one about Indian peace medals: *The Indian Peace Medals of George III*. Again, appearances should not decide, but thanks to George Kolbe and also Henry Morris of Bird & Bull Press, this one is a looker: tightly bound in maroon buckram with a black leather label, printed on laid paper and with the texture that comes only from letterpress printing using metal type. A bibliophile will fall in love with it on sight. And the contents are not shabby. I mined original sources in Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom to put together the history of these glowing testimonials from the past, telling the story as recorded by white men and, far more important, as felt by the Indians. For those of you who are non-numismatists, visit the collections here at the Massachusetts Historical Society and ask to see an Indian peace medal—hold it in your hands, be absolutely quiet, and it will talk to you. In all probability, the medal will voice frustration at being patronized and it will tell

of the feeling of futility that comes with being a certain loser—early on, the Indians knew that there was no way they were going to win. And while you are at it, study up on Sir William Johnson, the one white leader who understood the Indians and who, because of his empathy, was able to keep the frontier from being rolled back to the Alleghenies. Chances are that most non-numismatists have never heard of him, but he was a giant of a man whose contributions to the building of our nation are on a par with those of the four Founding Fathers.

The sixty-year reign of George III from 1760 to 1820 witnessed the steady decline of the military and diplomatic power of Native Americans. Fully equal to the French and the English at the outset, by the time of the War of 1812 they were scarcely more potent than the local militia. Save for the heroics of Tecumseh, the role of Native Americans in that conflict has earned little notice.

Book 4 (2005). *The Medals Concerning John Law and the Mississippi System* was a work of the head, rather than the heart. Prior authors on the subject, of which there were quite a few, had done a decent-but-improvable job with the numismatic side, but they had tended to get the economic issues all wrong. John Law made a full quota of mistakes, but his pioneering ideas—such as quantitative easing, for one (QE was not invented by Ben Bernanke)—establish him as one of the greatest econometricians of all time. This needed to be said, because the medals are almost all satiric, depicting Law as a rogue or worse. Observers of the so-called “Mississippi Bubble” missed the point, and if we were not to go on missing the point, someone needed to speak out. However, getting there was a long, tough slog and required a refresher course in economics, the translating skills of *ma très belle femme*, and the patience of Ute Wartenberg Kagan and the ANS, who were footing the bill. The bill was relatively small, but sales of the book have been even smaller. Some day, the French will see the magnitude of the opportunity that Law had mapped out and blame someone else for the fact that his vision did not come to pass.

Book 5 (2007). For *Comitia Americana and Related Medals*, I had talented and industrious Anne Bentley as my co-author. If there is a job to be done, Anne is your first draft choice to get it done. For those not familiar with these medals, they were awarded by Congress to our leaders in the Revolutionary War—George Washington for causing the British evacuation of Boston, Horatio Gates for our victory at Saratoga, John Paul Jones for his capture of HMS *Serapis*, etc. Given the importance of the subject matter, many authors have published on the Comitia Americana medals, and they have summarized the facts quite well. However, doing

justice to these, the most important of all American medals, is a book-length project and we gave it just that—more history of the events, more history of the medal procurement (which directly involved Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson among others), the defining of the states, the assembling of population data, and many other garnishes.

The tragedy of the Comitia medals is that more were not made. Our research demonstrated that the blame for this shortfall belongs squarely on the shoulders of Thomas Jefferson. In later life, he would attempt to blame his secretary, William Short, but as we establish, he had both the money and Congress’s authorization to strike 350 sets. Had this been done, these medals might well have become the most popular series in all of United States numismatics.

The book is actively used by many numismatists, a number of whom have multiple copies. *Comitia Americana* was fun to write and is fun to read. These medals and the stories around them will cause you to appreciate the debt we owe to those who fought for us then, as well as the remarkable set of values which they left us for all time.

Book 6 (2010). After 25 years of peace in Europe following the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, discontent rose in England, as the powerful Spanish navy boarded British merchant ships in the Caribbean, confiscated their cargo, and impressed members of the crews. Edward Vernon, a needling member of the opposition in Parliament, vowed that he could put an end to this nonsense and that, if he were given six ships only, he would take Portobelo, a Spanish stronghold in modern-day Panama. Incredulous, the Admiralty gave him the six ships and, to the amazement of all, he promptly took Portobelo. News of this victory set off a veritable explosion of patriotic feelings, with bells rung, sermons preached, and literally thousands of relatively crude medals struck off. It is the patriotism imbued in these pieces, more than their aesthetics, which is their charm.

Medallic Portraits of Admiral Vernon was co-authored with Fernando Chao (h), a totally delightful gentleman from Argentina. As the two of us corresponded over the Internet, a strong friendship developed. It also became clear to us that the eight or so books written on the Admiral Vernon medals had told the story either from the English side or the Spanish side but never from both. Thus, the two of us as a team were ideally situated to get the history right and then add a long list of study aids that the series deserved: images that would help collectors attribute the over 200 varieties that were known; a review of the literature, both Spanish and English; a concordance of attributions from the prior studies;



Fig. 10: Indian peace medal of George III, one of the few that can be traced back to its original recipient. This medal was given to Wanata, a chief of the Yanktonai Dakota, for his service to the British during the War of 1812. (See Bowers & Merena, May 21, 2001, lot 1128).



Fig. 11: White-metal medal by Christian Wermuth (Adams 31), satirizing the collapse of John Law's financial system, 1721. See J. W. Adams, *The Medals Concerning John Law and the Mississippi System* (New York: American Numismatic Society, 2005), pp. 51–52.



Fig. 12: Original bronze example of the Comititia Americana medal awarded to Daniel Morgan for his victory at the Battle of Cowpens, 1781. See J. W. Adams and A. E. Bentley, *Comititia Americana and Related Medals* (Crestline, Calif.: George Frederick Kolbe, 2007), p. 137.



Fig. 13: Gilt brass medal (Adams-Chao FCv 1-A) commemorating the capture by Admiral Vernon of Fort San Lorenzo at the mouth of the Chagres River in what is now Panama on April 4, 1740 (= March 24, 1739 Old Style). See J. W. Adams and F. Chao (h), *Medallic Portraits of Admiral Vernon* (Gahanna, Oh.: Kolbe & Fanning, 2010), p. 141.



Fig. 14: Silver medal struck to commemorate the author receiving the Huntington Medal. 63 mm (images reduced).

a review of the great collections, past and present; a modern census; and, finally, a primer on the metallurgy which is so important to a study of the series. In my opinion, all these targets were met and interest in the Vernon medals is clearly on the rise: professional cataloguers now use the Adams-Chao numbers, half a dozen new varieties have been reported, and a steady stream of commentary on the subject is being published in the journal of the Medal Collectors of America. The medals of Admiral Vernon are quite plentiful and therefore bear relatively low prices. Thus, the book enables collectors on a limited budget to enjoy one of the most technically challenging series in all of historical medals. It is this achievement, opening historical nu-

mismatics to those with modest budgets, that Fernando and I value as much as any other.

Scholarship is good 1) if it is used and 2) if it becomes the base upon which others can move forward. With the John Law book I was perhaps guilty of beating an obscure subject to death, so much so that I may have unwittingly written the last word on the subject. However, with the remaining corpus of what I have published and with my popularization of the dimension of provenance in collecting, I have put forward ideas that others now share, enjoy and improve. This is a huge source of psychic income. Be forewarned, my inkwell is far from dry, and you have not heard the last of Adams.

COLLECTIONS

New Acquisitions

By Elena Stolyarik

The Cabinet has acquired various numismatic objects during the past summer season. From Morton & Eden Auction 68 (June 10, 2014, lot 21, ex Pozzi collection, Naville 1, Lucerne, March 1921, lot 2367) our Greek department acquired an electrum stater on the Milesian standard (13.92 g), struck at an uncertain Ionian mint around c. 600–550 BC (fig. 1). This example, with an image of a curved ram's head on the obverse and one large incuse punch flanked by two smaller punches on the reverse, is apparently a unique variety. It came from the famous collection of Dr. Samuel Jean de Pozzi (1846–1918), one of the greatest European collections of ancient coins of all times. The coin purchased by the ANS had not been offered for sale since the Pozzi sale by the Naville firm in 1921.

In August, ANS Trustee Dr. Lawrence A. Adams enriched our medal collection with a donation of two remarkable specimens. The first is a 14k cast gold medal depicting John F. Kennedy on the obverse, and on the reverse, the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, marking its dedication by President Richard M. Nixon on September 8, 1971 (fig. 2). This medal was designed by C. Paul Jennewein (1890–1978), the prominent German-born American sculptor best known for his architectural sculptures in classical and Art Deco styles. These include the main entrance of the British Empire Building at Rockefeller Center; two pylons, painted in the Egyptian style, at the entrance to the Brooklyn Public Library; allegorical relief panels in the White House Executive Mansion; and the sculptural decoration and reliefs for the U.S. Department of Justice Building. For the thirteen sculptures of Greek deities in the central pediment of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, Jennewein was awarded the Medal of Honor of the Architectural League.

The other medal in the Adams gift is a gold medal that P. T. Barnum presented to his assistant manager, W. F. Sommerfield, in 1871 (fig. 3). Phineas Taylor Barnum (1810–1891) was a legendary showman and entrepreneur. His many business interests included museums, newspaper publishing, and running a boarding house; he served two terms in the Connecticut Legislature and one term as mayor of his hometown of Bridgeport. But most of all he is remembered as a successful entertainment promoter who gave his name to P. T. Barnum's

Grand Traveling Museum, Menagerie, Caravan, and Hippodrome, one of the most renowned circuses of nineteenth-century America.

A fine addition to our collection of the medals issued by numismatic clubs is a satin-finish copper commemorative medal dedicated to the 95th anniversary of the Chicago Coin Club, donated by ANS First Vice-President Michael Gasvoda (fig. 4). The medal features the original Ferris wheel made for the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago on the obverse, and a modern view of the Chicago skyline and the inscription *CELEBRATING 95 YEARS OF CONTINUOUS MONTHLY MEETINGS* along with the club's motto, "*Docendo Discimus—We Learn by Teaching,*" on the reverse.

From the estate of Frank Gasparro (1909–2001), the former Chief Engraver of the US Mint, the ANS obtained 240 original plaster models for medal and coin designs. Gasparro started his connection with US Mint in 1942, when he was hired as a junior engraver after he had worked on his own and for the Works' Progress Administration (WPA) during the Great Depression. From 1965 until his retirement in 1981, he served as Chief Engraver; during this period he supervised the production of about 30,000 dies a year for all coins and medals produced at the Philadelphia Mint. He also prepared designs for the nation's official Bicentennial medal and the Mint presidential medals for every chief executive from Lyndon Johnson to Jimmy Carter.

Gasparro is best known for his designs on the reverses of the Lincoln Memorial cent and Kennedy half dollar, and the creation of two \$1 coins—the Eisenhower/Apollo 11 in 1971 and the Susan B. Anthony in 1979. Our new group of Gasparro's works shows his working process from modeling clay to a rough plaster to a finished plaster (fig. 5). Some examples consist of a plaster base on which he has built a face in modeling clay and sketched the lettering in pencil, such as a model featuring portraits of Baseball Hall of Fame members Ty Cobb, Babe Ruth, Walter Johnson, Honus Wagner, and Christy Mathewson (fig. 6); a pair of similar plaster bases hold modeling clay portraits of the famous numismatists Chester L. Krause (ANS Honorary Life Fellow) and Clifford Mishler (ANS Councillor/Trustee from 1997 through 2014) (fig. 7).



Fig. 1: Ionia, Electrum stater, c. 600–550 BC. (ANS 2014.24.1, purchase) 20.5 × 17.5 mm.



Fig. 2: United States. AV medal by C. Paul Jennewein commemorating the dedication of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts on September 8, 1971. (ANS 2014.30.1, gift of Dr. Lawrence A. Adams) 65 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 3: United States. AV medal presented by P. T. Barnum to his assistant manager, W. F. Sommerfield, 1871. (ANS 2014.30.2, gift of Dr. Lawrence A. Adams) 40 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 4: United States. AE medal commemorating the 95th anniversary of the Chicago Coin Club, 2014. (ANS 2014.33.1, gift of Michael Gasvoda) 50 mm.



Fig. 5: United States. Rough and finished plaster models for the United States Mint Bicentennial medal, by Frank Gasparro. (ANS 2014.31.1–2, purchase) 260 mm, 230 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 6: United States. Plaster base with modeling clay portraits of Ty Cobb, Babe Ruth, Walter Johnson, Honus Wagner, and Christy Mathewson, by Frank Gasparro. (ANS 2014.31.3, purchase) 280 mm (image reduced).



Fig. 7: United States. Plaster base with modeling clay portrait of Clifford Mishler for a commemorative medal, by Frank Gasparro. (ANS 2014.31.4, purchase) 240 mm (image reduced).



Fig. 8: United States. Plaster model with Frank Gasparro's self-portrait for a limited-edition commemorative Bowers & Merena Galleries medal, by Frank Gasparro. (ANS 2014.31.5, purchase) 230.5 mm (image reduced).

Among the plasters is a self-portrait of Gasparro (fig. 8) working on the model of the medal on which his portrait appeared, issued by Bowers & Merena Galleries (fig. 9). Gasparro had a close connection with the numismatic community. He was chosen to design the American Numismatic Association's Centenary Medal for the 1991 convention in Chicago (fig. 10). Gasparro described this work as his attempt to show how modern America looks, with the mountains from the West meeting the city skyline and industry from the East, and emphasizing that Chicago would be welcoming everyone with open arms.

Last spring, while traveling in China, ANS member Mark Tomasko visited the Shanghai Mint. His hosts, who were interested to learn of a connection between our two institutions, warmly received him. In the ANS Archives are the papers of Clifford Hewitt, recognized as the founder of the Shanghai Mint in 1933; these papers provided the basis for an article by ANS Archivist David Hill in a recent issue of the *ANS Magazine* (2013 no. 3, pp. 36–43), copies of which Mr. Tomasko left with his hosts. During his visit, mint officials presented Mr. Tomasko with numerous gifts—books, medals, and coins—which he then generously donated to the ANS, along with other items from his previous trips to China.

Among these is a set of two brass commemorative medals designed by the mint artists Fang Mao-se, Zhao Qiang, and Xu Yun-fei. These medals were produced to commemorate the official opening of the China Banknote Printing and Minting Museum in October 2002 (fig. 11–12). The obverse of the first piece bears the image of the China Banknote Printing and Minting Corporation. It shows the front of building looking up from the ground, because the Museum is located in the bottom of the building; flowing from the door there is a contemporary banknote. The reverse shows a banknote of the revolutionary period, referring to the history that the museum preserves. The obverse of the second piece of this set resembles the panes of a window, showing scenes that place the work of the China Banknote Printing and Minting Corporation in relation to China's heritage. On the reverse is the logo of CBPMC. The inscription refers to the principles of loyalty, perfection, and corporate spirit. A fine addition to this group of medals is an example issued to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the opening of the China Numismatic Museum in Beijing, with a beautiful high-relief image of the museum's entrance (fig. 13) and a brass medal, struck by the Shanghai Mint, commemorating the twentieth anniversary, in 2002, of the China Numismatic Society, with an emblem made up of coins on the obverse and the Society meeting at the conference hall on the reverse (fig. 14).

Another interesting group of the Chinese medals and coins is dedicated to the Year of the Horse. Among these is an oval copper commemorative medal, designed by Liu Naixia, with a beautiful image of a chariot pulled by galloping horses on the obverse, and a diagram of the Chinese zodiacal system on the reverse (fig. 15). One interesting example in the group is a gold-plated medal of 1995 dedicated to the 100th anniversary of the birth of the famous painter Xu Beihong (1895–1953). He worked in the traditional Chinese style of painting but mastered not only the traditional medium of Chinese ink but also the Western technique of oil painting. Our new medal presents a portrait of the artist on the obverse and depicts one of Xu Beihong's paintings of a horse on the reverse (fig. 16).

Also in the Tomasko donation are banknotes of the 5th series of the renminbi, from 1999 and 2005, with a portrait of Mao Zedong on the obverse and images of national monuments or landmarks on the reverses. Among them is an image of the famous Potala Palace in Lhasa, Tibet Autonomous Region, former palace of the Dalai Lamas, shown on the 50-yuan banknote (fig. 17). The Great Hall of the People, located on the west side of Tiananmen Square, in Beijing, is on the reverse of 100-yuan banknote. It is the place of national conferences and grand international events--also widely known for the brutal massacre by the Chinese Peoples' Liberation Army of peacefully protesting pro-democracy students in June 1989 (fig. 18).

China has 56 officially recognized ethnic groups (as well as others that are not officially recognized), most of which traditionally have their own languages. A selection of these ethnic groups were portrayed as stereotypical individuals on Chinese national banknotes of the 4th series of the renminbi, which were included in Mark Tomasko's gift. These include depictions of the Miao and Zhuang nationalities on the 5-jào banknote (fig. 19). The 1-yuan banknote portrays the Dong and Yao nationalities on one side and the Great Wall on the other (fig. 20). The 10-yuan note bears portrayals of the Mongol and Han (the largest ethnic group in China) peoples and the image of Mount Everest ("Chomolungma" in Tibetan), the Earth's highest mountain (fig. 21). The gift of 4th-series Chinese banknotes also includes a 50-yuan note of 1990, with images on the obverse of a worker, a peasant, and an intellectual--is an important ideological declaration of the Communist Party of China. The reverse side of this interesting example shows another famous national landscape, the Hukou Waterfall of the Yellow River (fig. 22).

Current Exhibitions

At the beginning of October an exciting new exhibition



Fig. 9: United States. AR commemorative medal, Bowers & Merena Galleries, Inc., by Frank Gasparro. (ANS 2007.31.18, gift of James H. Blind) 40.1 mm.



Fig. 10: United States. Plaster model (ANS 2014.31.6, purchase) 260 mm, and the commemorative medal of the American Numismatics Association 100th Anniversary Convention in 1991, hosted by Chicago Coin Club, by Frank Gasparro (ANS 1999.46.1, gift of Catherine E. Bullowa-Moore) 32 mm.



Fig. 11-12: China. Set of two AE medals commemorating the official opening for public of the China Banknote Printing and Minting Museum in October 2002, by Fang Mao-se, Zhao Qiang, and Xu Yun-fei, 2002. (ANS 2014.17.11-12, gift of Mark Tomasko) 80 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 13: China. AE medal commemorating the tenth anniversary of the opening of China Numismatic Museum in Beijing, 2002. (ANS 2014.17.13, gift of Mark Tomasko) 60 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 14: China. AE medal commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the China Numismatic Society, produced by the Shanghai Mint, 2002. (ANS 2014.17.16, gift of Mark Tomasko) 58 mm.



Fig. 15: China. AE medal for the Chinese Year of the Horse, by Liu Naixia, Shanghai Mint, 2014. (ANS 2014.17.14, gift of Mark Tomasko) 75 × 90 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 16: China. Gold-plated medal commemorating the 100th anniversary of the birth of Xu Beihong (1895–1953), Shanghai Mint, 1995. (ANS 2014.17.15, gift of Mark Tomasko) 50 mm (images reduced).

entitled *When the Greeks Ruled Egypt* was opened at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World (ISAW) at New York University. The exhibit explores the artistic and cultural tradition that developed in Egypt between the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BC and the death of Cleopatra VII in 30 BC. It provides a view of Greco-Egyptian political, religious, and cultural practices by taking a closer look at royal writing and religious iconography. ISAW has borrowed a large group of ANS coins for this exhibition, including a decadrachm with the image of Arsinoe II (d. 270 BC) (fig. 23), a beautiful silver tetradrachm of Ptolemy IV (221–205 BC) with images of Zeus Sarapis and Isis (fig. 24), a tetradrachm with an interesting portrait of Ptolemy VI (180–145 BC) (fig. 25), a didrachm of Ptolemy VIII (164–116 BC) wearing a radiate diadem and aegis (fig. 26) and tetradrachms of Ptolemy X (107–99 BC) (fig. 27) and Ptolemy XII (80–51 BC). One of the finest pieces of this selection is a gold octadrachm produced under the second Ptolemaic ruler, Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285–246 BC) (fig. 28). He was given the epithet Philadelphus, which means “sister (or brother)-loving” in Greek, due to his marriage, in Egyptian style, to his sister Arsinoe II. The portraits on the obverse (front) of this coin are of Ptolemy I Soter (305–282 BC) and his queen Berenice I (317–275 BC); the legend above them reads ΘΕΩΝ (“of the gods”), indicating that Ptolemy II had deified his parents. The portraits on the reverse are of Ptolemy II Philadelphus and his queen and sister, Arsinoe II, with the inscription ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ (“of the siblings”). The entire design of this coin, through its portraits and legends, serves to reinforce the impression of dynastic harmony within the royal family of Egypt. Another lovely ANS coin on display is a decadrachm with the head of Berenice II (258–222 BC) (fig. 29), struck during the reign of her husband Ptolemy III Euergetes (246–222 BC). The ANS collection’s coins on loan to this spectacular exhibit help illustrate the wide-ranging influence that Greek culture and Greek visual vocabulary had in Ptolemaic coinage. The display of

such a wide array of coins minted by different Ptolemaic kings introduces visitors to the importance of coinage in this dynasty’s social, ethnic, political, and cultural agenda.

Another impressive museum event of this fall season was the opening on September 20, 2014, of the Canadian Museum for Human Rights (CMHR) in Winnipeg, Manitoba, in Canada (fig. 30). This museum began as a longstanding dream of the Winnipeg media mogul and philanthropist, Izzy Asper. In April 2003, Asper announced his intent to build a place to educate people about the struggle for human rights around the world. His daughter Gail picked up that dream when Asper died later the same year. With the help of more than 7,000 donors who believe in the power of human rights, she has been able to set the dream in motion. It is the first national museum to be established in Canada since 1967 and the first outside the Ottawa region. It is also the first museum in the world that is “solely dedicated to the evolution, celebration and future of human rights.” The main galleries feature permanent exhibits dedicated to the mistreatment of aboriginal peoples in Canada, the Nazi Holocaust, and several episodes of genocide recognized by the Canadian government, including the *Holodomor*, a man-made starvation at the hands of the Soviet regime of Joseph Stalin that led to the deaths of millions in the Ukraine. This museum will allow future generations to become more aware of actions that can lead toward greater human rights in Canada and around the world. As part of a historical retrospective of the development of the concepts of law and justice, the museum borrowed an ANS bronze dupondius of Tiberius (fig. 31). This coin, which circulated almost 2,000 years ago, features a beautiful image of Justitia, the Roman goddess of justice. Roman philosophers of that period influenced the later development of Western justice through their ethical and legal writings. More than 250,000 people are expected to visit the museum annually, and the ANS is glad to be a small but a valuable part of this project.



Fig. 17: China. 50-Yuan banknote, People's Bank of China, 1999 (ANS 2014.17.20, gift of Mark Tomasko) 70 × 150 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 18: China. 100-Yuan banknote, People's Bank of China, 1999 (ANS 2014.17.21, gift of Mark Tomasko) 77 × 156 mm (images reduced).





Fig. 19: China. 5-Jiao banknote with images of Miao and Zhuang nationalities People's Bank of China, 1980. (ANS 2014.17.28, gift of Mark Tomasko) 57 x 125 mm (images reduced).

Fig. 20: China. 1-Yuan banknote with images of Dong and Yao people, People's Bank of China, 1996. (ANS 2014.17.29, gift of Mark Tomasko) 65 x 140 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 21: China. 10-Yuan banknote with images of Mongol and Han people, People's Bank of China, 1980. (ANS 2014.17.33, gift of Mark Tomasko) 71 x 155 mm (images reduced).

Fig. 22: China. 50-Yuan banknote with images of a worker, a peasant, and an intellectual, People's Bank of China, 1990. (ANS 2014.17.34, gift of Mark Tomasko) 78 x 160 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 23: Egypt. Alexandria. Ptolemy II (285–246 BC), AR decadrachm with images of Arsinoe II (died-270 BC). (ANS 1944.100.43632, bequest of Edward T. Newell) 33 mm.



Fig. 24: Egypt. Alexandria. Ptolemy IV (221–205 BC), AR tetradrachm. (ANS 1944.100.77209, bequest of Edward T. Newell) 26 mm.



Fig. 25: Egypt. Alexandria. Ptolemy VI (180–145 BC), AR tetradrachm. (ANS 1959.254.66, gift of Burton Y. Berry) 28 mm.



Fig. 26: Egypt. Alexandria. Ptolemy VIII (164–116 BC), AR didrachm, 138–137 BC. (ANS 1944.100.75452, bequest of Edward T. Newell) 20 mm.



Fig. 27: Egypt. Alexandria. Ptolemy X (107–99 BC), AR tetradrachm, 107 BC. (ANS 1944.100.79010, bequest of Edward T. Newell) 27 mm.



Fig. 28: Egypt. Alexandria, Ptolemy II (285–246 BC), AV octadrachm. (ANS 1977.158.112, bequest of Robert F. Kelley) 29 mm.



Fig. 29: Egypt. Alexandria. Ptolemy III (246–222 B.C.), AV decadrachm with the image of Berenice II (258–222 BC). (ANS 1967.152.562, estate of Adra M Newell) 32 mm.



Fig. 30: Canada. Museum for Human Rights (CMHR) in Winnipeg, Manitoba. (Photo courtesy of the CMHR).



Fig. 31: Roman Empire. Tiberius, AE dupondius, AD 22–23. Rome. (ANS 1944.100.39280, bequest of Edward T. Newell) 29.5 mm

NEWS AND DEVELOPMENT

ANS at Whitman Baltimore Expo The Stack Family Coinage of the Americas Conference ANS Book Signing

The ANS was well represented at the Whitman Baltimore Expo held at the Baltimore Convention Center, Baltimore, MD from October 30 to November 2, 2014. Ute Wartenberg Kagan, Executive Director, Kenneth L. Edlow, Chairman, and Oliver Hoover, Adjunct Curator were all on hand to meet with ANS members and friends, and convention attendees, during the many events that took place, including the 20th Annual C4 Convention, the Stack Family COAC, and an ANS book signing.

On Thursday October 30, 2014, the American Numismatic Society and C4 jointly presented "Circulating Coinage in Pre-Federal America," A Coinage of the Americas Conference (COAC), a symposium the ANS has held for thirty years on a variety of topics. Approximately one hundred ANS and C4 members attended a reception and the event, which was held at the Sheraton Inner Harbor during The Whitman Baltimore Expo at the Baltimore Convention Center. The program was generously funded by the Stack Family Fund at the American Numismatic Society and C4. Presentations were made by: Oliver Hoover—*Coins of our Forefathers: The Circulating Money of North America before 1780*; Christopher J. Salmon—*The Silver Coins of Massachusetts: Evolution of Minting Techniques*; John L. Howes—*Thomas Machin: The Man and his Coinage*; and John Kraljevich—*World Coins that Circulated in Colonial America: Sources and Methods*. C4 and the



Philip Mossman book signing at the Whitman Baltimore Expo. From left: Kenneth L. Edlow, ANS Chairman; Oliver Hoover, ANS Adjunct Curator; and Philip Mossman, ANS Fellow.



Mr. Oliver Hoover presenting Coins of our Forefathers: The Circulating Money of North America before 1780 at the Stack Family COAC in Baltimore

ANS will be publishing papers from the proceedings in their forthcoming publications. For more information on past COAC events and publications, visit the ANS website at <http://numismatics.org/Archives/Coachistory> and <http://numismatics.org/Store/COAC>.

On Friday, October 31, 2014, at the Whitman Baltimore Expo, ANS Fellow and C4 member, Dr. Philip Mossman, was on hand at the ANS booth to sign his award-winning book *From Crime to Punishment: Counterfeit and Debased Currencies in Colonial and Pre-Federal America* (Numismatic Studies 27). Many attendees lined up to obtain his signature on this 2013 ANS publication as well as have him sign copies of his 1993 *Money of the American Colonies and Confederation: A Numismatic, Economic and Historical Correlation* (Numismatic Studies 20). To purchase copies of these or other ANS books visit the ANS on line store at <http://numismatics.org/Store/Store>.

Thursday October 30, 2014, the ANS and C4's joint Stack Family COAC presentation of "Circulating Coinage in Pre-Federal America," during the Whitman Baltimore Expo.



2015 Sage Trip to Sicily

One of the special pleasures of being a member of the Sage Society is the annual Sage trip. In June 2014 members of the Sage Society had the opportunity to travel to Rome where they visited four important coin cabinets as well as archaeological sites, churches and museums.

By all accounts, it was one of the highlights of the year for Sage members, a trip that combined seeing some of Europe's most stunning coin collections with the joy of relaxed travel in beautiful surroundings among friends.

The seventh annual Sage Trip, to Sicily, is scheduled for September 12–19, 2015, and it promises to be equally exciting. The trip will start in the western part of Sicily, in Palermo, then end in the east in Taormina, in time for the 15th International Numismatic Congress, which will be held there from September 21–25, 2015. Situated in the center of the Mediterranean, Taormina is a legendary resort, and it inspired the writings of D. H. Lawrence and Truman Capote with its medieval streets and second-century Greek theater.

A detailed itinerary is still being finalized, but at the moment, plans include visits to the historic hill town of Monreal, site of a great Norman cathedral; a private guided tour of the Greek temple and theater of Segesta; a full-day tour of the Carthaginian colony of Mothia, on the striking island of San Pantaleo; a visit to the medieval castles of the mountaintop town of Erice; and a private tour of Agrigento's Valley of the Temples, site of eight ancient Greek structures from the 5th and 6th century B.C.. And of course there will be extensive tours of Siracusa, a city with a complex history that ripples with the overlapping influences of Athens, Carthage, Rome, and Byzantium. Here the tour will visit the museum with its famous holdings of ancient coins of Sicily. Rounding it all off will be stops at the baroque



The citadel of Akragas seen from the west across the valley of the river Hypsas (photo A. Meadows).



The temple of Herakles at Akragas (photo A. Meadows).

town of Noto, the fishing village of Marzamemi, and visits to famed wineries.

These trips are open to Sage Society members only, and they fill up quickly. If you are interested in joining this select group, please contact us. Sage membership is a great way to increase your annual support of the ANS.



The temple of Herakles at Akragas (photo A. Meadows).

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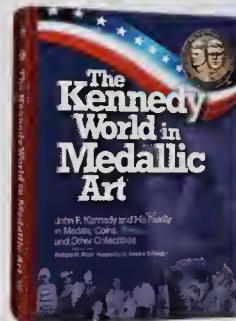
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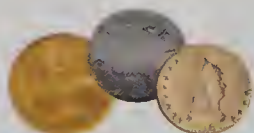
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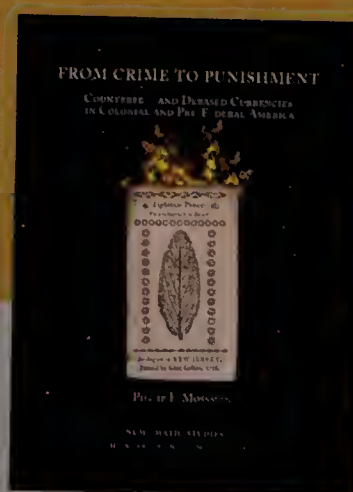
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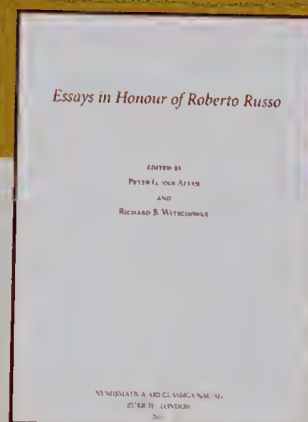
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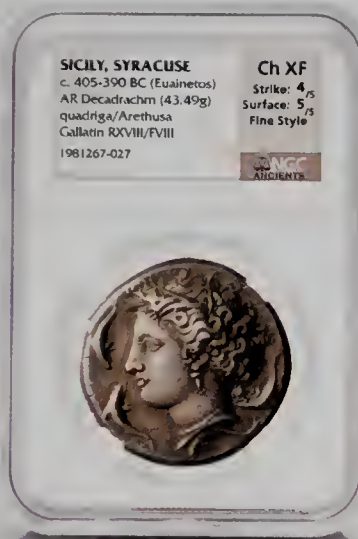


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In exergue: COM.WILH. HOC INSIGNE / AMSTELODAMO DONO / 13 DEDIT 42

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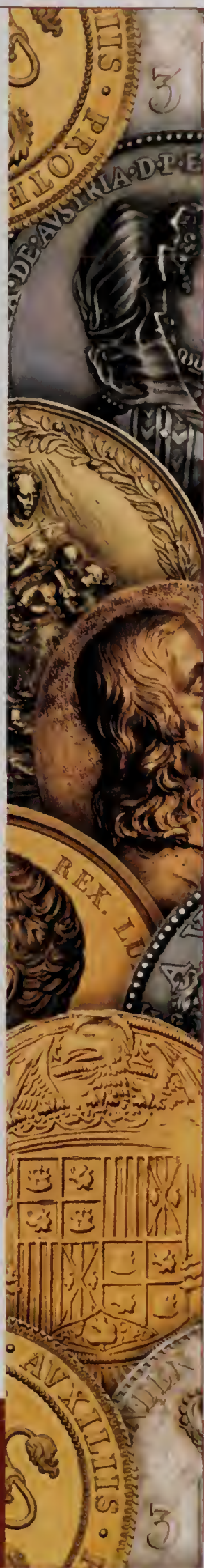
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